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A Facsimile with an Introduction by

Richard Cooper

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The four enlargements of specific venues along the triumphal route are based on the *Plan Scénegraphique* of Lyon.

1. *Entries to Lyon*

At the beginning of each new reign it was traditional in France for the monarch to visit the principal cities of his kingdom and to exercise his rights of joyous accession: in return for the confirmation of the privileges of each city, for the appointment of new office holders, and for the pardoning of a few criminals, the king expected handsome gifts from the loyal citizens to help fill the royal coffers, as well as free lodging and entertainment for his glittering court.[1]

As the second city and principal trading center of the kingdom, with a population exceeding 60,000,[2] and as a major crossroads and the gateway to Italy, Lyon was both an essential destination for a new monarch and also a frequent venue on the itinerary of the French nomadic court. The planners of the king's entry in 1548 thus had a long tradition of previous royal visits to draw upon, and a pattern had evolved.[3] Medieval entries to the city had borne a profoundly religious stamp: the monarch or other important visitor was normally met outside the gates by the clergy with banners and by the city fathers and citizens, and after the civic ceremony of the remission of the keys, a parade, and a harangue, a grand procession then accompanied him or her along one of two traditional routes[4] back through the narrow streets to the cathedral, where prayers were offered and the *Te Deum* sung. Members of the

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[1] L. P. Bryant, *The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony* (Geneva: Droz, 1986), 24–47.

[2] F. Bayard and P. Cayez, *Histoire de Lyon* (Le Coteau: Horvath, 1990), 2:53; R. Gascon, *Grand commerce et vie urbaine au XVIe siècle: Lyon et ses marchands* (Paris: S. E. V. P. E. N., 1971), 138–40, 346–51.

[3] J. Chartrou, *Les entrées solennelles et triomphales à la Renaissance* (Paris: P. U. F., 1928); B. Guenée & F. Lehoux, *Les entrées royales françaises de 1328 à 1515* (Paris: C. N. R. S., 1968); *Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon: Entrées royales et fêtes populaires à Lyon du XVe au XVIIIe siècles* [henceforth cited as *Lyon: Entrées royales*] (Lyon, 1970); V. Graham, "L'Humanisme lyonnais à travers les entrées triomphales au XVIe siècle," in *L'Humanisme lyonnais* (Grenoble: Presses universitaires de Grenoble, 1974), 185–99.

[4] E. Pariset, "Souvenirs lyonnais de 1496 à 1896," *Mémoires de l'Académie de Sciences, Belles Lettres et Arts de Lyon*, 3e série, 5 (1898): 48.

royal party were usually accommodated either at the *Archevêché*[5] or at the Abbaye d'Ainay. Along the route the royal visitor could view a series of *tableaux vivants* called *mystères* or *ystoires*, in which allegorical characters acted out a *saynète* or playlet and addressed the royal guest in verse.

All aspects of civic life in Lyon were represented in the parade: the clergy and the canons of the cathedral; the city fathers; the sons of the local aristocracy and rich bourgeoisie, who gathered into a militia called *les enfants de la ville*; the local trade-guilds; and the foreign colonies or *nations*. Certain elements were unchanging, such as the elaborate ceremonial used by the cathedral canons as *comtes de Saint-Jean*, to welcome the king to the precincts of Saint-Jean, which was used as late as 1622 for the visit of Louis XIII.[6] Between 1481 and 1622 a major role in public festivals was also played by the *enfants de la ville*, an association not peculiar to Lyon, recruited from among the richer families and also known as the *enfants d'honneur* or *enfants de la jeunesse*, under their elected leader called the *abbé* or *prince de la jeunesse*.[7] More important still were the parts played by the *confréries*, who represented either the trade guilds or certain *quartiers* of the city or the chancellery clerks (*basoche*). The *basoche* apparently did not participate in the 1548 entry, although they loomed large in other receptions such as the entry to Lyon of the new governor, Jacques de Saint-André, in 1550, or the jousting in 1552; but the other *confréries*, representing some twenty trades and half a dozen *quartiers*, provided the bulk of the manpower on parade.[8] All these elements would also be present in entries to the other great cities of the kingdom, such as Paris and Rouen. However the presence in Lyon of important foreign colonies engaged in commerce led to a significant difference from entries elsewhere in France, and we have to look to Antwerp for a parallel: these colonies were included in Lyonnais entries and other public festivals, at which the Florentines, Luccans, Genoese, Milanese, and Germans in all their finery paid homage to the

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[5] This palace was used to accommodate Charles VIII, François I, Charles IX, Henri III, Henri IV, and Louis XIII, see *Lyon ancien et moderne* (Lyon, 1838), 1:159–67; Pariset, "Souvenirs," 120.

[6] *Reception du treschrétien monarque Louis XIII* (Lyon, 1623); cf. Pariset, "Souvenirs," 58–59.

[7] See J. Tricou, "Les enfants de la ville," *Bulletin de la société littéraire, historique et archéologique de Lyon*, 14 (1937): 107–26; N. Z. Davis, *Society & Culture in early modern France* (London: Duckworth, 1975), 113–14.

[8] J. Tricou, "Les confréries joyeuses de Lyon au XVIe siècle et la numismatique," *Revue numismatique*, 1937: 293–97.

royal visitor and solicited the continuation of trading privileges.[9]

If there were elements of continuity in the Lyonnais entries of the period, there was also evolution, especially in the *ystoires* which punctuated the royal progress. The 1507 triumph of Louis XII, returning from victory against Genoa, had included four such *estrades*, at the *Pont du Rhône*, at *La Grenette*, at *L'Herberie*, and at *Place du Change*, where virtues such as *Force*, *Prudence*, *Diligence*, and *Vaillance* gave laurel crowns to the victor and compared him to worthies like Theseus, Hercules, and Jason.[10] François I[er]'s 1515 entry was similarly connected with Italy and with victory, this time the prospective conquest of the duchy of Milan.[11] Three *ystoires*, of which two were set in gardens, provided allegorical prefigurement of this victory, notably the *parc de Milan*, in which Hercules [François] liberated the Garden of the Hesperides [Milan] from the usurper [Lodovico il Moro] and carried off the apples. Notable also in this entry was the inclusion of a river spectacle, with a ship being drawn with gold chains along the Rhône by a winged stag. Much of the content was still religious and allegorical, but we note the inclusion of some classical material, including four short Latin inscriptions, and also an allied interest in the monumental, with the royal route lined at one point by eight columns.

A remarkable shift of emphasis is seen in the three planned entries of 26–28 May 1533, when the queen Eleanor, the dauphin, and the legate cardinal Duprat were on successive days to be welcomed to Lyon on their way to Marseilles to meet Clement VII (the legate's entry was finally cancelled). This important group of ceremonies, which merit further study,[12] were realized by the collaboration of a humanist and an artist, Jean de Vauzelles and the Italian painter Salvatore Salvatori, and were the first Lyonnais entries to receive contemporary publication and to be illustrated with woodcuts.[13] The religious element was still

[9] See J. Landwehr, *Splendid Ceremonies: State Entries and Royal Funerals in the Low Countries, 1515–1791, a bibliography* (Niewkoop; de Graaf & Leiden: Sijthoff, 1971), 70–75.

[10] Edited by G. Guigue, 1885; cf. Graham, "L'Humanisme," 186–87.

[11] Edited by G. Guigue, 1899; *Lyon: Entrées royales*, cit., 71–72; Graham, "L'Humanisme," 187–88; A.-M. Lecoq, *François I[er] imaginaire* (Paris: Macula, 1987), 144–48, 186–211.

[12] See G. Tricou, "Les entrées à Lyon de la Reine Eléonore, du Dauphin et des enfants de France en 1533," *Nouvelle revue du Lyonnais*, 2 (June 1932): 47–58; *Lyon: Entrées royales*, 73–74; for a recent reassessment see R. A. Cooper, "Humanism and Politics in Lyon in 1533," in P. Ford & G. Jondorff, eds., *Intellectual life in Renaissance Lyon* (Cambridge: Cambridge French Colloquia, 1993), 1–32.

[13] This anticipates the development of illustrated *livrets* of Italian entries, the earliest of which seems to date from 1541: see B. Mitchell, *1598: A Year of Pageantry in Late Renaissance Ferrara*, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, vol. 71 (Binghamton, NY, 1990), 5.

strong, seen particularly in the ecclesiastical banners and in the prominence given to texts from the *Psalms*; the word games played on royal names are also reminiscent of earlier such ceremonies. However, the conception and script of the *ystoires* are much more classical and scholarly than before, as is the iconography which owes much to the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*. An example of the new style is the *tableau vivant* at the *Porte de Bourgneuf*, set on a stage with Corinthian pillars and inscriptions in Greek, Hebrew, and Latin, portraying the royal children in bed emulating Hercules in strangling a snake, witnessed by the three figures of *Fortune*, *Renommée* and *Sagesse* with their humanist iconographical attributes. Furthermore the four isolated Latin inscriptions in the 1515 entry are meager compared with more than forty in the ceremony for the dauphin and over sixty in that for the queen.

A further difference in the 1533 entries is seen in the role of the *confréries*. Although following the 1529 popular insurrection, the *Rebeyne*, such associations had officially been banned in the interest of public order in Lyon, the edict was ignored for the entries, in which the guilds and *quartiers* turned out in great strength and in splendid costumes. The contingent of *enfants de la ville*, sixty strong, went so far as to adopt a specifically military guise, dividing into two companies, one on foot and one mounted, and marching with a splendid new banner behind not an *abbé* but a captain, lieutenant, and *porte-enseigne*. This did nothing to allay fears of the danger to the peace presented by these often unruly fraternities. Later the same year their weapons and banners were confiscated, and in August 1539 François Ier formally abolished the *confréries*.[14]

There is no evidence of any ceremony marking the three-month stay at Lyon of the king and court in the summer of 1536, which culminated in the gruesome execution of Montecuculi, the supposed poisoner of the *dauphin*. However, a clear harbinger of the style of the 1548 entries is to be found in the triumphal welcome offered by the city in May 1540 to its new archbishop, Ippolito d'Este, cardinal of Ferrara.[15] The cardinal had given the city no more than a fortnight's notice of his intention to

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[14] Tricou, "Les enfants de la ville," 126.

[15] Lyon, arch. com., BB 58; J. Guéraud, *La Chronique lyonnaise*, ed. J. Tricou (Lyon: Impr. Audinienne, 1929), 31 [henceforth cited as Guéraud]; V.-L. Saulnier, *Maurice Scève* (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1948), 1:201–2, 2:268–79 [henceforth cited as Saulnier]; F. Rolle, "Bernard Salomon (le petit Bernard), peintre et graveur sur bois," *Archives de l'art français*, 1861: 415–18 [henceforth cited as Rolle]; cf. V. Pacifici, *Ippolito II d'Este, Cardinale di Ferrara* (Tivoli: Società di storia e d'arte in Villa d'Este, 1920), 62.

take formal possession of his new see on the journey from Rome to take up residence at court: the city commissioned Maurice Scève, Jean de Vauzelles, and Guillaume Meslier to "faire un gect et forme des ystoires qu'il conviendra faire," while entrusting artistic direction to the Florentine painter Benedetto del Bene.[16] Three *ystoires* were designed by the humanist trio and painted by del Bene and his ten assistants, who included the same Bernard Salomon who was to have a major role in 1548.[17] In the time available little more than painted flats could be constructed, such as the one bearing an eagle at the *Porte du Pont du Rhône*, or another similar at the *carré de la Grenette*; nonetheless a more elaborate scene with figures was painted for the *ystoire* at the *Place du Change*, and a traditional fountain dispensing wine constructed at the *Puits-pelu*. Time did allow the decking of the streets and the making of sumptuous costumes for the city fathers.

As was traditional, the honorand was met at the gates by a procession of clergy, banners waving, and of "tous les ordres et estats de la ville";[18] the cardinal and his retinue, who included Luigi Alamanni and Benvenuto Cellini, joined the procession under a specially embroidered canopy carried by the aldermen. The cortege entered the city from the south across the *Pont du Rhône*, the city fathers dressed in costly "robbes de taffetas cramoisin, saye de velours et pourpoints de satin cramoisy." The abolition of the *confréries* was again ignored,[19] but the *enfants de la ville* had not seen fit to spend any money on special costumes, and only seventeen *enfants* had turned up to participate in the parade. However, they made their presence felt by entering into a dispute over precedence with the clergy, who for fear of physical aristocratic violence were obliged to withdraw from the procession and take refuge in the Hôtel-Dieu.[20] It was agreed that in the future the clergy would be limited to greeting the monarch outside the walls and then awaiting him at Saint-Jean, and this eviction of the church from the parade was formalized in 1548, although the rivalry flared up again for the entries of Tournon in 1552 and Caraffa in 1556.[21]

The procession moved through the bedecked streets, past the three

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[16] Saulnier, 2:269, 274.

[17] Rolle, "Bernard" cit., 416–17; other names common to the two festivals are Jehan Le Vin *dit* Vandemeure, and Guillaume Charay or Charryer.

[18] C. Rubys, *Histoire véritable de Lyon* (Lyon: B. Nugo, 1604), 370.

[19] But the *enfants* were quickly reestablished, see Tricou, "Enfants," 126.

[20] Guéraud, 31; Tricou, "Enfants," 119.

[21] Tricou, "Enfants," 120.

mystères and the fountain, and on to the cathedral.[22] The new archbishop was clearly delighted with his reception, writing to his brother that,

> L'ingresso fu solenissimo con si belli apparati et allegrezza universalmente di tutti, nè so quel che havessero potuto fare di più in qual si voglia entrata,[23]

and it is clear that the experience of this ceremony was to prove influential in the planning, by Ippolito and some of the same Lyonnais team, of the far grander royal entry eight years later.

Further junketings followed in the summer of 1542, when the court stayed at the *abbaye d'Ainay*, where they were royally entertained by the abbot, Cardinal Gaddi.[24] Ceremonies of a more military nature ensued at the time of Charles V's threatened invasion in August 1544, when the governor, Jean d'Albon de Saint-André, held a grandiose review of all the citizens able to bear arms, some 18,000 Lyonnais under the command of Françoys de Salla, seigneur de Mont Justin.[25] A more religious flavor was provided by the festival of St. John the Baptist on 24 June 1546: to cope with the massive influx of pilgrims in pursuit of indulgences, a new wooden bridge over the Saône had to be built near the cathedral; and to welcome those who managed to cross it without being crushed or falling in, a fountain was once again erected dispensing wine.[26]

Two final ceremonies during the summer of 1547 served as a prelude to the great royal entry. At the end of April, soon after the death of François I[er], the body of the previous dauphin François was brought through the city on its way from Tournon for burial at Saint-Denis. The cortege remained three days in Lyon, during which time a solemn procession was held through the city and a High Mass in Saint-Jean.[27] Six weeks later, as confirmation of the archbishop of Lyon's continuing high standing in the new king's favor, Henri II restored to Ippolito d'Este on 23 June the temporal authority traditionally attached to the archbishop, "la levée de la Justice ordinaire de Lyon," and which had

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[22] Rubys, *Histoire*, 370.

[23] Ippolito d'Este-Ercole d'Este, Lyon, 20 May 1540, cited in Pacifici, *Ippolito*, 62.

[24] Rubys, *Histoire*, 371.

[25] Ibid., 372–73.

[26] Lyon, arch. com., BB. 64–65; Guéraud, 38–40; Rubys, *Histoire*, 373.

[27] Lyon, arch. com., AA. 143 & BB. 66; Guéraud, 40–41; Rubys, *Histoire*, 374; G. Guigue, ed., *La magnificence de la superbe et triumphante entree* (Lyon: Société des Bibliophiles Lyonnais, 1927), 132–34 [henceforth cited as Guigue].

been transferred to the seneschal in 1533 following incidents of public disorder.[28] To celebrate this the cardinal sent round the city that night the watch, known as the *cherguet* or *echarguet*, in a grand torchlight procession of legal officers and judges, of *confréries* and of troops wearing his livery.[29] This enhancement of Ippolito's authority meant that he would be directly responsible for public order during the king and court's planned visit to Lyon.

An opportunity for a trial-run for the entry was provided early in 1548 when the governor Saint-André ordered the *consulat* to provide a grand welcome for the ambassadors of the Swiss cantons, who were on their way back from court after acting as godfathers to the king's new daughter. The city fathers went out in procession to greet them, presents were offered and a great banquet was given in their honor, at which the *enfants de la ville* served and the civic musicians performed.[30] Two months later the king's own visit was to be announced.

2. *The Royal Itinerary*

François I[er] had made no formal entries since the emperor's progress through France in 1539–40.[1] Early in the new reign, Henri II and his counselors resolved to embark on the customary tour of the kingdom, both to show the new monarch to his subjects and to allow the king to inspect his frontiers.[2] A high priority was the planned visit to the new territories of Savoy and Piedmont, wrested from the duke of Savoy only a dozen years before. This cavalcade was to be marked on the part of the crown by a display of sartorial splendor and military might; and on the part of the towns on the route by demonstrations of loyalty and civic pride. An additional stimulus for this tour may have been provided by the prospective parallel progress of young Prince Philip, coming

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[28] P. Marichal, ed. *Catalogue des Actes de François I[er]* (Paris, 1887–1908), 2:509, no. 6251.

[29] Guéraud, 41–42; Rubys, *Histoire*, 374–75; Pacifici, *Ippolito*, 101.

[30] 25 February 1548: Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, f° 146r–v; BB 68, f°14v–15v; Guigue, 145–47, 202; Guéraud, 43.

[1] See C. Paillard, "Le voyage de Charles-Quint en France," *Revue des questions historiques*, 25 (1879): 506–50; V.-L. Saulnier, "Charles-Quint traversant la France: ce qu'en dirent les poètes français," in J. Jacquot, ed. *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance* (Paris: C. N. R. S., 1960), 2:207–33.

[2] F. de Vieilleville, *Mémoires*, ed. Petitot (Paris, 1822), 26:238; F. Decrue, *Anne, duc de Montmorency [. . .] sous les rois Henri II, François II & Charles IX* (Paris, 1889), 47–54.

from Spain to the Low Countries.[3] Rumors circulated that the king was even considering an attempt to kidnap Philip as he passed through Italy.[4] The Spanish ambassador to France suspected that the visit to Lyon was a cover for some military initiative.[5]

The whole undertaking was to last four fitful years, beginning with the solemn progress to Rheims for the coronation in April 1547, in which elements of a new style began to appear in the royal entry and ending with the entries to Tours and Orleans in 1551. In this period the king and court made dozens of solemn entries,[6] and most were never immortalized in printed descriptions, though albums of rare elegance survive for a few of them.

Early in 1548 a program was drawn up for the itinerant court to visit the eastern frontiers of France, Piedmont and Lyon, culminating in an intended inspection of the fleet at Marseille.[7] In April 1548 the court moved off on a serpentine route, passing through Nogent-sur-Seine,[8] then southwards at the end of the month to stay at Cardinal de Chastillon's abbey of Vauluisant near Sens,[9], before turning eastwards on 4 May towards Guise country and heading for Troyes.[10] Here the city and its bishop, Louis de Guise, had prepared a magnificent reception and entry designed by Dominique Florentin and anticipating the 1550 Rouen entry with a *tableau vivant* involving savages.[11] The court moved off

[3] However, this tour provided no real competition until Philip made his splendid entry to Antwerp in 1549; we even learn that Charles V had forbidden a grand entry for Philip in the duchy of Milan, to the displeasure of the Milanese who had spent much in preparation: G. Ribier, *Lettres et Memoires d'Estat* (Paris: F. Clouzier, 1666), 2:178–79.

[4] A. Tallone, "Il viaggio di Enrico II in Piemonte nel 1548," *Bolletino storico bibliografico subalpino*, 4 (1899–1900): 80–84.

[5] Dispatch of Saint-Mauris, 30 March 1547, Arch. Simancas, K. 1488.

[6] *The Entry of Henry II into Paris, 1549*, ed. I. D. McFarlane [henceforth cited as McFarlane] (Binghamton: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1982), 15; cf. Bryant, *The King*, 31; D. Gluck, "Les entrées provinciales de Henri II," *L'information de l'histoire de l'art*, 10 (1965): 215–18. This large number of entries contradicts the view that "une entrée est au XVI[e] siècle un événement peu commun, même pour le roi," held by W. McAllister Johnson, "Critique interne des livres d'entrées français au XVI[e] siècle," in J. Jacquot, ed. *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance* (Paris: C. N. R. S., 1975) 3:188.

[7] See the dispatch from Sens, 20 April 1548, in W. B. Turnbull, ed. *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, Edward VI* (London, 1861), 22; Giustiniano, Turin, 15 Aug. 1548, AS Venice, *Arch. propr. Francia*, 4, fols. 206v & 211v [henceforth cited as Giustiniano]; Guéraud, 44.

[8] 10–15 April; M.-N. Baudouin-Matuszek & A. Merlin-Chazelas, eds. *Catalogue des actes de Henri II* [henceforth cited as CAH] (Paris: C. N. R. S., 1986), 2: nos. 2771–2807.

[9] 22 April–3 May, CAH, 2: nos. 2813–63, 2917–35.

[10] 9–14 May, CAH, 2: nos. 2959–84.

[11] Vieilleville, *Mémoires*, 26:247–48; E. Babeau, *Les rois de France à Troyes au XVI[e] siècle* (Troyes, 1880); *Revue de Champagne et de Brie* 9 (1880): 225–34.

on 15 May, making various visits within the Guise fiefdom,[12] and staying at their seat at Joinville in mid-June.[13]

After this inspection of the eastern marches, the king turned south towards Burgundy,[14] spending a fortnight in Dijon until 13 July,[15], and passing down the Rhône corridor through Beaune, Chalon and Mâcon, making a formal entry into each town,[16] with the traditional release of prisoners along the route.[17] At Beaune a grand spectacle was put on for him, involving the mock storming of a fortress.[18] Between 24–27 July he was at Bourg-en-Bresse[19] where, if the Venetian ambassador is to be believed, the inhabitants showed no more signs of enthusiasm or of loyalty than, he claims, had the Burgundians:

> [*fol. 204v*] passando il Re x^mo per le città et luochi di Borgogna, non è stato da molti voluto salutare ne cridare come se fa "viva il Re," anchor che in molti luochi li [*fol. 205*] arcieri et alabardieri con bastonate et un minazzo grande se siano forzati di farli al men dir bassamente le dette parole. Et in Borgo in Bressa tra molti che hano usato questa dimostratione di poco amore, sono state due donne, lequal menate avanti il sig^re Contestabile et instate da lui a dire "viva il Re!" mai hano voluto aprir la bocca; ma essendoli da sua Ex^tia dimandato qual Principe che amano, li hano risposto non amar altri che il Duc di Savoglia, et in presentia della Ex^tia sua le hano imprecato et augurato buona vita et prosperità; di maniera che se il Re deffonto ha levate le arme alla Borgogna et soleva tener tutte le frontiere di Savoglia et Piamonte, come fa anco il Re presente, molto ben custodite, non è maraviglia alcuna.[20]

Mindful of the shortage of food and lodgings in Piedmont and of the need for speed, it was decided to travel without the queen, the court, and most of the administration, who stayed behind first at Mâcon and

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[12] 19 May–10 June, CAH, 2: nos. 2986–3083.
[13] 11-20 June, CAH, 2: nos. 3084–127.
[14] 21-30 June, CAH, 2: no. 3084–151.
[15] 30 June–13 July, CAH, 2: nos. 3152, 3177–278.
[16] 14–24 July, CAH, 2: nos. 3279–316.
[17] CAH, 2: nos. 3728–47.
[18] D. Berardier, *La prinse d'un fort à l'entree du roy Henry second de ce nom faicte en la ville de Beaulne* (Paris, J. André, 1548); H. Aubertin, *Le roi Henri II à Beaune en 1548* (Beaune, 1888).
[19] CAH, 2: nos. 3317–43.
[20] Giustiniano, fols. 204–5, 29 July.

then in Lyon from mid-August to mid-September. Meanwhile the king made a six-week tour, first of Savoy, then of Piedmont, and finally of Dauphiné on the return journey, planning to join up again with the court at Grenoble, before making the solemn entry to Lyon.[21] On 28 July Henri arrived *incognito* in Lyon with a reduced train, staying in the city for two days, and amusing himself and his companions with a football match,[22] before setting off for Chambéry and the Alps.[23] At Aiguebelle he received a delegation from Saluzzo offering him the marquisate which had fallen vacant on the death of the last marquis Gabriele, and he responded by accepting and promising to visit Saluzzo on the return journey.[24] At Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne a formal entry had been prepared, and the town put on a show with a hundred citizens dressed as bears who fired off guns and accompanied the king to the church for a ceremony with the bishop.[25] Fortified by this enthusiasm and by a night's rest at Lanslebourg (10 August), the royal party crossed the Mont Cenis, lunched at Novalesa, perhaps at the abbey, and spent their first night in Italy at Susa.[26]

Henri II's keen desire to visit Piedmont[27] is manifest in his letters,[28] both from the military point of view and in order to cause a stir in Italy.[29] He was met at Avigliana by the lieutenant-general, Giovanni Caracciolo, *principe di Melfi*,[30] made his entry to Rivoli on the 10 August, and two days later took possession of his new cisalpine capital, Turin. There is little evidence of the welcome prepared for him by the impoverished city, since witnesses give no details,[31] but it probably

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[21] Ibid., fol. 203v; Alvarotto, 29 July 1548, AS Modena, busta 25, fol. 167 [henceforth cited as Alvarotto].

[22] 52 Alvarotto, 29 July, busta 25, fol. 167; cf. Guéraud, 44; J. Lestocquoy, ed. *Correspondance des nonces en France, Dandino, della Torre et Trivultio, 1546–1551* (Rome, Presses de l'Université Grégorienne & Paris, E. de Boccard, 1966) [henceforth cited as Dandino], 352.

[23] Where he made an entry, Vieilleville, *Mémoires*, 26:248–50; CAH, 2: nos. 3428, 3439, 3443; Henri gave alms at Chambéry, Montmélian and Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne, BN, *ms. fr.* 10393, fols. 21v–22v, 4–7 August.

[24] Ribier, *Lettres*, 2:143; Tallone, "Viaggio," 106–7.

[25] Vieilleville, *Mémoires*, 26:251–53; cf. Dandino, 357.

[26] Conegrani from Susa, 9 Aug. 1548, AS Mantua, *Gonzaga* 641, fol. 188 [henceforth cited as Conegrani].

[27] Tallone, "Viaggio," 69–113; it now needs to be supplemented from diplomatic sources.

[28] E.g., his letter to d'Aramon, 3 Aug., Ribier, 2:153; cf. Giustiniano fol. 206v, 15 Aug.

[29] Dandino, 359, 7 Aug. 1548.

[30] Vieilleville, *Mémoires*, 26:256–57.

[31] Vieilleville gives no details, *Mémoires*, 26:253–54, nor does Conegrani, fol. 202, Turin, 12 Aug.; cf. Dandino, 371, 14 Aug. 1548.

included triumphal arches,[32] fireworks, and artillery.[33] In Turin the king was struck down by a toothache attributed to the crossing of the Alps, and his tour of the province was slightly delayed.[34] He celebrated the Assumption in Turin,[35] where he touched over 200 sufferers from scrofula and made gifts of alms,[36] then went from 16–18 August to inspect the defenses of Chivasso and Verolengo,[37] returning in time to welcome the duke of Ferrara.

Ercole II d'Este was in the final stages of negotiating the projected marriage of his daughter Anna with François d'Aumale, planned to take place during the royal visit to Lyon. The French took great trouble to make a fuss over this francophile Italian prince. The duke's brother, Ippolito d'Este, cardinal of Ferrara, and the duc d'Aumale, the prospective son-in-law, were sent "con bellissima compagnia" to meet Ercole at Villanova d'Asti and to escort him to Moncalieri, just south of Turin, where the constable Montmorency awaited him with 600 infantry. After "un disnar sontuosissimo" the company traveled the three miles to the gates of Turin, where the king met the duke with an impressive array of 200 cavalry and 1500 infantry, "gente bellissima et ben in ordine." The city's artillery fired a salvo, the troops staged a mock-battle in which the infantry attacked the cavalry with pikes, the arquebusses fired another salvo, and the day culminated in a grand dinner.[38] On the following evening the king invited the ladies of Turin to dinner followed by a "bellissima festa" lasting until after midnight.[39]

But the pressing news from Guyenne following the salt riots in Bordeaux instilled a sense of urgency, and the tour of Piedmont, planned to last some twelve days, was undertaken without further delay.[40] On 23 August, the king and duke left together for the first stage on the royal tour of inspection, visiting Villanova d'Asti[41] and then Moncalieri again (24–25 August), where the authorities made a speech and a presentation to the

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[32] G. Miolo, *Cronaca*, in *Miscellanea di Storia italiana* (Turin, 1862), 1:187.
[33] Tallone, "Viaggio," 98–99.
[34] Conegrani, fol. 202, Turin, 12 Aug.
[35] Announced by Conegrani, fol. 188, 202; 9 and 12 Aug. 1548.
[36] BN, *ms. fr.* 10393, fols. 23–25; Dandino, 374, 15 Aug.
[37] Conegrani, fols. 194, 200, 14 and 16 Aug.
[38] Giustiniano, fol. 214v, Turin, 23 Aug.; cf. Vieilleville, *Mémoires*, 26:259.
[39] Conegrani, fol. 303, Turin, 21 Aug.; Tallone, "Viaggio," 99–100.
[40] Giustiniano, fol. 215, 23 Aug.; Conegrani, fol. 307, 22 Aug.; Vieilleville, *Mémoires*, 26:261–62.
[41] Conegrani, fol. 307, Turin, 22 Aug.; Giustiniano, fol. 215, 23 Aug.

king.[42] On 26–27 August, Henri was at Carignano and at Carmagnola,[43] where he made his entry under the traditional portable canopy reserved for visiting dignitaries and borne by four *notables*, and where he listened to another welcoming speech.[44] On 28 August, the duke of Ferrara left for home by boat from Turin, accompanied by Louis de Guise and "bellissima compagnia di gentilhuomini" who were to bring the new bride back for her marriage in Lyon.[45] The king pressed on to Racconigi on 29 August,[46] and on the same day to the strongly fortified town of Savigliano, which had been spruced up, repaved, and decorated for the occasion with triumphal arches.[47] Here again there was a formal entry under a ceremonial canopy, and the king inspected the fortifications. After giving audience to a papal embassy,[48] he hurried off to complete quickly the visit to his southern frontier, the news of Tristan de Monneins' murder in Bordeaux making his return more urgent.[49]

The itinerary had, however, to be stretched to include the newly acquired territory of Saluzzo, which Henri visited on 2 September, and of which he took formal possession after a solemn entry, again under a canopy.[50] After spending the night of 2 September nearby at Revello, the king travelled to the last of his Piedmontese strongholds, Pinerolo, which had been preparing for weeks for his entry, and to where the constable had gone on ahead.[51] However, Henri had little leisure to enjoy the festivities prepared for him, being anxious to cross the Alps and to dispatch Montmorency and Aumale to Bordeaux to put down the rebellion.[52] This emergency was also causing him to rethink his plans for the next few weeks: he still had to inspect the frontier defenses of Dauphiné,[53] but any idea of going to see the fleet in Marseille was post-

[42] Tallone, "Viaggio," 102–3; cf. CAH, 2: no. 3485.

[43] Giustiniano, fols. 216v & 218, Turin, 29 Aug.; CAH, 2: no. 3488.

[44] Tallone, "Viaggio," 106–7.

[45] Giustiniano, fol. 218, Turin, 29 Aug.

[46] Alvarotto, busta 45, no. 23, Racconigi, 29 Aug.

[47] Alvarotto, busta 45, no 24, Savigliano, 30 Aug.; Tallone, "Viaggio," 107–10; cf. Ribier, *Lettres*, 2:154; CAH, 2: no 3489.

[48] Ribier, *Lettres*, 2:154–57; Dandino, 377.

[49] Ribier, *Lettres*, 2:167, 1 Sept.; he was visiting La Rocca de' Balbi and Mondovi, see CAH, 2: no. 3531.

[50] Alvarotto, busta 45, no. 24B, Saluzzo, 2 Sept.; Tallone, "Viaggio," 110; CAH, 2: no. 3718.

[51] Alvarotto, busta 45, no. 25, Pinerolo, 4 Sept.; Tallone, "Viaggio," 111–12.

[52] Giustiniano, fol. 226, Pinerolo, 4 Sept.; Dandino, 380–82; Tallone, "Viaggio," 110–11, says that here the king called off the plot to kidnap Philip of Spain.

[53] Giustiniano, fol. 217v, Turin, 29 Aug.

poned; the marriages of the dukes of Aumale and of Vendôme, originally fixed to take place in Lyon, were also put off provisionally until the court reached Paris; and worse still for the citizens of Lyon, who were hard at work preparing his entry, his visit there threatened to be no more than a fleeting one.[54]

The king left Pinerolo before midday on 4 September and crossed the Mont-Genèvre in very hot weather, losing touch with a good part of his suite on the way;[55] we find him on 7 September at a place which the Ferrarese ambassador calls Monastiero,[56] no doubt Le Monêtier-les-Bains, and three days later in Grenoble, where he made an entry and where he was due to rejoin the queen and the rest of the court.[57] But upon arrival, he found that they were staying at Jean de Saint-André's estate at La Côte-Saint-André, and so, after his entry and after leaving his retinue at Grenoble, he set off post-haste to join the court and to spend four days there (11–14 Sept.).[58] The constable and Aumale were dispatched to put down the revolt in Guyenne, and the king and court could now begin to approach Lyon at more leisure, with the entry planned to take place on 19 September, followed by a stay of ten to fifteen days.[59] On 15 September we find them at Heyrieux where they went hunting,[60] followed by a couple of days at Meyzieu filling in time until the arrangements for his entry were complete.[61]

The weather had taken a severe turn for the worse,[62] and the preparations in Lyon suffered repeated delays. The entry was put back for four days to Sunday 23 September[63], and the projected length of the stay in Lyon was shortened so that the king would leave for Moulins at the beginning of October, after celebrating Michaelmas in Lyons (29 September).[64] According to the Venetian ambassador,[65] Henri arrived

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[54] Giustiniano, fol. 227v, Pinerolo, 4 Sept.

[55] Giustiniano, fol. 229v, Lyon, 19 Sept.

[56] Alvarotto, busta 45, no. 26, Monastiero, 7 Sept.

[57] Alvarotto, busta 45, no. 27, La Côte-Saint-André, 12 Sept.; Giustiniano, fol. 228v, Avigliana, 8 Sept.; CAH, 2: nos. 3565–66, 3689; Dandino, 386.

[58] Giustiniano, fol. 229v, Lyon, 19 Sept.; Alvarotto, busta 45, nos. 27–28, La Côte-Saint-André, 12–13 Sept.; CAH, 2: nos. 3567–81.

[59] Alvarotto, busta 25, fol. 175–76, La Côte-Saint-André, 12 & 13 Sept.

[60] Alvarotto, busta 24, no. 32, Heyrieux, 15 Sept.; CAH, 2: nos. 3582–88.

[61] CAH, 2: nos. 3592–98.

[62] Alvarotto, busta 25, fol. 181, La Côte-Saint-André, 14 Sept.

[63] Alvarotto, busta 25, fol. 183v, & busta 45, no. 33, Lyon, 19 Sept.

[64] Alvarotto, busta 25, fol. 183–85v & busta 45, no. 33, Lyon, 19 Sept.; cf. Giustiniano, fol. 231v, Lyon, 20 Sept.

[65] Giustiniano, fol. 232, Lyon, 24 Sept.; Guéraud, 44, says 19 Sept.

in Lyon "occultamente et travestito" on the evening of Thursday 20 September, then more officially on Friday 21, joining the queen and ladies of the court at Ainay.[66] He spent the Saturday at Ainay, and on the Sunday morning went north by river and took up his position north of Lyon, at the *Logis du Mouton* in the *faubourg de Vaise*,[67] where he lunched and awaited the arrival of the delegations from the city, and the opportunity to see the "molti archi, feste et comedie"[68] which had been prepared to entertain him.

3. *Preparations for the Entry*

There is abundant documentation in the Lyon municipal archives of the preparations for this entry.[1] The records bear witness to four months of lavish expenditure by a municipality and by individuals already deep in debt. But they also testify to a period of vigorous and creative activity which put together a highly innovative royal entry, and one which set the style for the rest of the reign.

In May 1547, soon after the coronation of Henri II, the *consulat* of Lyon had sent an embassy to swear loyalty and to seek confirmation of the city's privileges.[2] As was to be the case with Paris,[3] the king delayed such confirmation until a future entry to Lyon, pending financial bargaining with the municipality. Advance notice was first given early in May 1548, when the king's visit to Piedmont was planned, and the *consulat* was instructed by both the cardinal of Ferrara and the governor of Lyon, Jean de Saint-André, to make preparations for an entry in about six weeks time as well as for the marriages of the duc de Vendôme and the duc d'Aumale.[4]

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[66] *La Magnificence de la superbe et triumphante entree de la noble et antique Cité de Lyon faicte au Treschrestien Roy de France Henry deuxiesme de ce nom* (Lyon, G. Rouillé, 1549), fol. A2v [henceforth cited as *Magnificence*]; CAH, 2: nos 3602–9; on three previous visits François I[er] and his court had stayed at the abbot's palace.

[67] Alvarotto, busta 25, fol. 194, Lyon, 23 Sept., associates this place with the nearby Ile Barbe.

[68] Giustiniano, fol. 231v, Lyon, 20 Sept.

[1] Especially in the registers of the *Consulat,* series BB 67–69, and in the accounts of the *receveurs,* series CC 979–83, 987–88; these are transcribed *in extenso* in the *pièces justificatives* to Guigue's edition of the entry, and have also been used by Rolle; by Saulnier, 1: chap. xv; and by J. M. Brooke, "Documents concerning the entry of Henry II of France into Lyon, 1548" (M.A. diss., Univ. of Toronto, 1975) [henceforth cited as Brooke].

[2] Lyon, arch. com., BB 66, fols. 22–31; Guigue, 134–39; Saulnier, 1:328 and n. 1.

[3] McFarlane, 15.

[4] Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fol. 175v; Guigue, 148.

Ippolito d'Este's thoughts characteristically turned to banquets, and he promptly wrote to his brother the duke summoning the services of an experienced *maître d'hôtel.*[5] Jean de Saint-André (whose son Jacques had a particular interest in festivals) arrived in Lyon at the beginning of May to a triumphant welcome, and while busying himself with the fortifications, summoned the city fathers to his lodgings on 10 May to initiate urgent preparations for the visit of the king "qui y sera plustout que l'on ne pense."[6] The *consulat* lost no time and on 11 May had already drawn up a blueprint for an event expected to take place within six weeks.[7] This initial plan followed traditional lines and is reminiscent of the 1533 and 1540 entries: the phrase "comme faict a esté de toute ancienneté" is eloquent in the *consulat* minutes. However, the municipal coffers were empty: the *consulat* had been obliged to borrow to meet François Ier's repeated requests for money, and the city still owed its creditors 140,000 *livres*; now Henri had issued a new demand for 72,000 *livres* to help pay for his troops.[8] The *consulat* had no alternative but to raise further urgent loans in order to start preparations for the entry.[9] The purchase of material in the royal colors, white and black for the king, white and green for the queen, and the manufacture of shields in the arms of the king and queen were also put out to tender, to decorate the streets "comme a esté faict aux autres entrees des predecesseurs";[10] the captain of the city, Jehan Salla, was instructed to organize the procession and the liveries. However no details were yet given of the *échafauds* and *ystoires*, of the costumes and actors, which were to punctuate the royal progress; and at this stage the only role attributed to the local humanists, Maurice Scève, Guillaume du Choul, and Barthélémy Aneau, was to lend advice on the design and inscription of the gifts to be offered to the king and queen.[11] Two days later, tenders had already been received from craftsmen for much of the decorative work, and the

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[5] Pacifici, *Ippolito,* 99, 18 May 1548, asking for "il Guarnieri o il Semenza" to come to help organise the entry and the marriage of Vendôme; he was allocated Semenza, who stayed with him until Sept. 1549.

[6] Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fol. 175; Rolle, 418; Guigue, 147–48,154; Saulnier, 1:328; Guéraud, 43.

[7] H. Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise* (Lyon: A. Brun, 1895–1921), 9:76–79 [henceforth cited as Baudrier]; Guigue, 148–49.

[8] Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fols. 166v, 239v, 241r–v; Guigue, 147, 169-70; Gascon gives a figure of 67,500 *livres*, see his *Grand commerce*, 431–32.

[9] Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fols. 175v–76; Guigue, 148.

[10] Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fols. 175v–76; Guigue, 149.

[11] Ibid., 148–49; Saulnier, 1:329–30.

contracts for the shields and for the material were awarded.[12] In mid-June the contract for the gifts to be presented to Henri and Catherine was awarded to the goldsmith Jehan Delabarre;[13] Scève, Du Choul, and Aneau had given their advice on the inscriptions, and the final form of words had been agreed,[14] while the design of the gifts was entrusted to Bernard Salomon.[15] The elegance of the design was not matched by the value of the two gold sculptures, for which the *consulat* had budgeted only 750 and 550 *écus* respectively, a small sum compared with the 12,000 *livres* spent on the sculpture presented to the king in Paris.[16]

These early contracts specify delivery within three weeks, in conformity with the anticipated arrival of the court in late June, on the outward journey to Piedmont.[17] However, the king's tour of the eastern frontiers was put back—and consequentially the Lyon entry—and the city archives record no significant progress in preparations until mid-June. Over the weekend of 15–17 June the *consulat* nominated the artists and craftsmen who were to walk over the route and produce designs for the *ystoires*;[18] the most important of these was Bernard Salomon, although Scève is already listed as having taken the measurements of two of the proposed sites.[19] Throughout the following week work started in earnest, with the bases laid for all the eight *échafauds*: a loggia at Vaise from which the king would view the procession, built by Loys Pictry; an obelisk and hunting scene at Pierre-Scize; an arch at the *porte de Bourgneuf* built by Guillaume Granger and Jehan de Romans; a trophy representing France at *le Griffon*; statues of Rhône and Saône at the *port Saint-Paul* with two fountains, all built by Estienne and Pierre Genyn; a two-sided arch at Saint-Éloy, to be decorated with herms; a perspective at the *Change*, with figures of Neptune and *Immortalité*; a figure of Fortune at the *Grand Palais*, the last three all built by Estienne Genyn; and the provision of four galleys for a river spectacle.[20] No mention is made of the victory column by the *Archevêché*, for a reason which will become apparent. A comparison of this program with the final *livret*

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[12] Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fols. 178v–79v, 194; Guigue, 151–53; Saulnier, 1:331.

[13] Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fol. 211v; CC 982, no. 1; Guigue, 154–55.

[14] See below, *Presentations & watersports.*

[15] Rolle, 428–29.

[16] Bryant, *The King*, 32–34.

[17] Baudrier, 9:77; Guigue, 148, 151.

[18] Lyon, arch. com., CC 980, no. 2; Rolle, 423–24; Guigue, 220.

[19] Guigue, 220, 222.

[20] Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fols. 236v–37; CC 980, no. 2; Guigue, 167, 220; Rolle, 424–25; Saulnier, 1:336, n. 72.

makes clear that, in the month since the entry had been announced, the organizers had come up with most of the key elements of the final design, and that they had now conceived a highly original décor which owed little to traditional Lyonnais, or indeed French, models.

From the middle of June until mid-September work went on on these *échafauds* every day including Sundays, and as time went on, by night as well as day, by the light of torches. An army of artists and craftsmen was recruited with their headquarters at the refectory and cloisters of the Augustinians' convent:[21] thirty-three painters, fifteen sculptors carving and moulding, four dozen carpenters, two dozen joiners, and assorted masons and boatbuilders.[22] Four artists were designated as "maistres conducteurs" of the entry, and were given a special uniform of purple satin with a black cloak: the joiners Jehan de Rohan and Jehan de Romans, the painter Bernard Salomon, and the carpenter Estienne Genyn.[23] Planning was also well advanced in early July for the *tableaux vivants* to be performed on the sets which the craftsmen were building.[24]

Arrangements for the decoration of the streets were by now all but finalized: in mid-May Jehan Coste had been contracted to supply 1600 painted shields, half with the king's arms and *devise*, half with those of the queen, and these were to be hung on capitals and festoons all along the route; Claude de Tourvéon had been contracted to buy material for the *échafauds* and to deck the route;[25] early in July rich families were instructed to see to the adornment of their own façades, to which they finally agreed in September after much wrangling.[26] The paving and the sanding of the streets, however, was not arranged until late in August.[27]

By the time Henri II arrived in Lyon *incognito* at the end of July, preparations for his formal entry were well advanced and would evidently have been complete had the king made his entry as planned on the outward journey to Piedmont; the delay gave the organizers time to attend to other preparations. Thought was given to the amusement of

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[21] See the weekly accounts from series CC 980 in Guigue, 219–302; Saulnier, 1:336 n. 75; A. Vachet, *Les anciens couvents de Lyon* (Lyon, 1895), 77.

[22] Lyon, arch. com., CC 980, reproduced in Guigue, section 4, *passim*; cf. Rolle, 426–27.

[23] Rolle, 427–28.

[24] Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fol. 224; Guigue, 160–61; Saulnier, 1:336 n. 75.

[25] Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fol. 179v; Rolle, 419; Guigue, 152–53.

[26] Guigue, 160–61, 168–69, 171–73, 177; Saulnier, 1:332.

[27] Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fol. 243v; CC 987, no. 6; Guigue, 172, 366–72.

the king and his court, and late in June the order was given by Jean de Saint-André for the construction of a new *jeu de paume* at Ainay on land bought from the abbot, Cardinal Gaddi.[28] This move would suggest that the delay in the king's arrival was already known, since the amenity was to take two and a half months to build, and was not completed until mid-September.[29] In fact, in early July the entry had been put back to mid-August; the queen and privy council arrived in Lyon on 11 August, but by then the entry had been further delayed until early September, then again until mid-September. Nonplussed, the *consulat* sent an embassy asking for a fixed date, bearing in mind the fragility of some of the decorations, and they were eventually given first the 19, then the 23 September, as the definitive date.[30] So as it turned out, the *livret* could claim with justification that there had been plenty of time for the entry to be prepared.[31]

Rubys congratulates the city on not having to look outside Lyon for talent, and gives the names of the two people who gave their time

> pour dresser les plans et modelles ... et en faire les descriptions et devises:

Maurice Scève and Claude Taillemont.[32] Despite V.-L. Saulnier's insistence on Scève as the "onlie begetter" of the festival,[33] it is surely no belittlement of Scève to accept evidence that he was assisted by a team of humanists: Aneau, Du Choul and perhaps Taillemont, although there is no archival confirmation of the latter's role. Aneau and Du Choul were consulted on inscriptions, and it will become apparent that Du Choul contributed to other aspects. Scève was, however, the principal coordinator, having been given by the *consulat* "la peyne de la conduicte de l'entree du roy Henry deuxiesme," and having been engaged, in return for a fee of fifty *livres*, to

> faire dresser les[d] ystoires, composer les factures et inventions, aussi à faire besogner les painctres.[34]

Despite his central role in the design and construction of the various

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[28] Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fols. 218v–223; Guigue, 157–60; Saulnier, 1:335 & n. 64–66.
[29] Saulnier, 1:335 & n. 67–68.
[30] Ibid., 1:328–29.
[31] *Magnificence,* fol. A2v.
[32] Rubys, *Histoire*, 375.
[33] Saulnier, 1:330 and n. 28–29.
[34] Ibid., 1:330 and n. 24–26.

ystoires, and in the supervision of artists and craftsmen, Scève is only infrequently mentioned in the archives and we often have to fall back on surmise: there is, for instance, an isolated receipt for material delivered to him to drape the statue of Fortune/*Occasio* at the *Grand Palais*.[35] What conclusions can we draw from this about his part in its fashioning?

To judge by the many documents bearing his name, Bernard Salomon, who had collaborated in the 1540 entry, also had a major role in 1548,[36] putting in many extra hours for which the *consulat* was slow to recompense him, just as it was to pay Scève:[37] Salomon's fee was slightly smaller than Scève's, thirty-seven *livres*. The division of responsibility between Scève and Salomon is not totally clear; however, we have precedents of the collaboration of humanist and artist on similar projects: Vauzelles and Salvatori in 1533, Scève, Meslier, and del Bene in 1540. Salomon began by making drawings of the proposed monuments and of the costumes, and then worked six or seven days a week for three months to ensure their completion on time. No doubt his drawings provided the basis for the engravings which were to adorn the final album.

The two sculpted gifts for which Scève and his colleagues had provided the inscriptions were completed by the end of August, and they conformed closely to the original design.[38] Scève was also responsible for a very different element in the proceedings: the king's taste for matters chivalric was well known, and it was decided to cater for this with a revolutionary demonstration of sword-fighting. Early in September three *maîtres d'armes*[39] were commissioned to recruit nine colleagues, and to practice combats of three against three or six against six, both on land and on water, with a variety of weapons,

> comme espees à deux mains, javelynes, l'espee, la rondelle, l'espee, le bouclier et deux petittes espees, le tout tranchant, tant par terre, passant devant l'eschaffault où sera le roy, que sur la rivyere Saonne, sur les deux galiasses qui ont estez dresseés pour servir aus[d] entrees.[40]

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[35] Payment of 3 *livres*, 12 *sous* "pour 4 aulnes ½ crespe blanc, à 16 s. pour Fortune, livré à mons[r] Maurisse Seve," Lyon, arch. com., CC 987, no. 2; Guigue, 328; Saulnier, 1:330 and n. 27.

[36] Rolle, 424–25.

[37] Ibid., 429–31.

[38] Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fol. 242v; Rolle, 421; Guigue, 171.

[39] Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fol. 250; Guigue, 177–78; Saulnier, 1:330, 336 n. 76.

[40] Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fol. 250; Guigue, 178, and receipt on 318–20; Saulnier, 1:330, and n. 23.

The archives tell us that this novel element had been included at the suggestion of Scève,

> suyvant ce qu'a ordonné mons[r] m[e] Maurice Sève, conducteur et ordinateur des ystoires et triumphes qu'il convient faire et dresser pour les entrées de roy et de la royne prochaines.[41]

To match this mock land-battle, the organizers also resolved to make use of the river in a more inventive way than had been the case in 1515 and in 1533. The notion of a naumachia seems to derive from the traditional Lyonnais mid-summer festival, the *Fête des Merveilles*, which, until its abolition in 1459, had taken place each 24 June.[42] The sailors needed for the festival were not recruited until early September when Antoine Coton, "marchant voyturier sur la riviere de Saonne," was commissioned to recruit seventy sailors and fourteen *patrons* to man the galleys and galliasses and to be dressed in uniforms of red and yellow;[43] some local merchants were also hired to swell the numbers,[44] and all were placed under the command of Claude Mayod, the "maitre gouverneur des galeres."[45] To these extras hired mainly from Condrieu should be added the twelve gladiators, who were also retained for the river battle,[46] and also the members of the *confrérie* of Saint-Vincent, who traditionally took part in the river spectacles. We know that it was this *confrérie* who tried out the galleys during the dress rehearsal for the naumachia, and who helped at other times during the week,[47] notably in organizing the jousting on the river.

Though the crews were recruited at a late stage, the preparation of the vessels had been in progress since mid-June when the construction of four galleys was planned,[48] gathering pace by early July when the *consulat* started buying eight boats, all light pine craft called "courtes."[49] At the

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[41] Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fol. 250; Guigue, 177–78; Saulnier, 1:330, & n. 23.

[42] See G. Paradin, *Memoires de l'histoire de Lyon* (Lyon, A. Gryphius, 1573), 200–201 [henceforth cited as Paradin]; *Bibliothèque municipale, Lyon: Entrées royales et fêtes populaires à Lyon du XV[e] au XVIII[e] siècles* (Lyon: Bibliothèque Municipale, 1970, 19–21); Brooke, 46–47.

[43] Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fol. 251; Guigue, 179 and receipts on 356–58; Saulnier, 1:336 n. 77–78; Brooke, 45. These include 60 *galliotz* or *mathellotz*, who were employed for the full week of the entry; 10 *maryniers* who were just paid for the naval battle; and 14 *patrons*. Their uniforms were soon changed to red and blue: BB 67, fol. 251v; Guigue, 180.

[44] Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fol. 253; Guigue, 181; Saulnier, 1:336.

[45] Lyon, arch. com., CC 981, no. 13; Guigue, 356; Saulnier, 1:336–37 n. 79–80.

[46] Lyon, arch. com., CC 987, no. 22; Guigue, 319.

[47] Lyon, arch. com., CC 980, no. 15; CC 987, n° 3; Guigue, 301, 357.

[48] Lyon, arch. com., CC 980, no. 2; Guigue, 220.

[49] Lyon, arch. com., CC 982, nos. 49–50, 58–61; Guigue, 354–55, bought between 10 July–27 Aug. for 111 *livres*.

same time they hired a large team of boat builders under Pierre Yzerable and Claude Bontemps, who worked for ten weeks at the *couvent des Augustins* constructing new craft for the festival. The workmen had to be bribed throughout with wine to work harder, and towards the end the team was working night and day and weekends to complete the job, and a new batch of craftsmen were added, the caulkers. The accounts show regular deliveries of cords, awnings, pitch, canvas, shields, gunpowder, oars, and even lead counterweights for the oars.[50] One of their tasks was fitting out the eight boats bought by the city; however the sources provide confusing evidence as to just which ships took part, especially in the names applied to the vessels. The only craft mentioned in the municipal accounts are the two large galleys, to which Scève in his *livret* was later to dedicate two enthusiastic pages and two woodcuts.[51] Apart from the galleys the city appears to have contributed some smaller vessels, including one from which the *consulat* watched the naumachia, and others containing the leaders of the *enfants de la ville* and the *confréries*.[52] These civic craft may correspond to some of the six *fregate* described by Conegrani as having figured in the flotilla:

> Delle fregate vi n'erano due verdi e bianchi per la Regina et le sue dame; due cremesine per Madama Margherrita; et due verdi schiette per il cardinale di Ferrara.[53]

However no other source mentions any vessel in the colors of the king's sister; and Scève does not use the term frigate at all, but associates the queen's colors with a barque.

All this lavish expenditure by the city fathers does not give a complete picture of what was arranged for the king by way of aquatic entertainments: a letter of the Ferrarese ambassador, Alvarotto, reports to the duke on his brother the cardinal's extravagant preparations, involving the fitting out of a further six ships:

> [Ippolito d'Este] fa fare tra le altre cose uno bucintoro che a proportione sarà cosi bello et forse più di quello di Vinetia, ma non già però così grande a un gran pezzo. Ha fatto uno bergantino,

[50] See the entries in the series CC 980 transcribed by Guigue, 236–40, 243–45, 249–51, 254–56, 259–61, 264–66, 270–73, 276–78, 281–85, 288–93, 297–301; also CC 988, no. 22, ibid., 358.

[51] See below, *Naumachia*.

[52] *Magnificence*, fol. K4v.

[53] Conegrani, fol. 244.

> una peotina et due gondole, che saranno richissimamente adornate. Havea dimandato certi calafà al priore di Capua per voler far' una fisolera, et ei non glie li volse dare; et la fece far' lui et la adornerà et la presenterà a Sua Maestà. De lì a pochi giorni che S. S[ria] R[ma] havea dimandato i calafà, il priore s'amalò et mandò a dimandar' il medico a S. S[ria] R[ma] et Ella non gli lo volse dar' et fece molto bene.[54]

The influence of the Venetian regatta is apparent here, as the terms *bucintoro*, *peotina*, *gondole*, and *fisolera* reveal, and Guéraud reports that some of the vessels had been sent over specially from Venice.[55] Of this flotilla, which the king was to view in the port behind the cathedral on the day of his entry, some craft can be identified from reports of other witnesses, although differences of nautical terminology make the task problematical. The two *gondole*, for instance, are described by Scève: both were decorated in the royal colors and *devises*, but the one intended for the king's personal use was manned by a crew in costumes with a Turkish flavor.[56] Conegrani asserts that one of the *gondole* was intended for Diane de Poitiers; he agrees about the colorings of one of the *gondole*, which he and Guéraud claim had been sent up from Marseille by Leone Strozzi, commander of the royal galleys;[57] however, he insists that the other *gondola* had been fitted out not by Ippolito but by the city, and that the color was crimson, not black and white.[58] We may suspect that different witnesses are using the term *gondola* to describe different vessels.

The *fisolera* announced by Alvarotto was a very light long Venetian boat used for wildfowling. We have seen that Ippolito had tried to borrow this from Leone Strozzi but had been refused, no doubt because of the antipathy between the cardinal and the Strozzi, although Strozzi himself later supplied a gondola for the king's use;[59] so Ippolito had to have the *fisolera* built himself. This vessel may perhaps correspond to Scève's mention of a long barque or rowing boat (*gran schelmo* in the Italian text) destined for the queen's use, decorated in her colors of

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[54] Alvarotto, busta 25, fol. 183v, 19 Sept.

[55] Guéraud, 46; he does not say which vessels.

[56] *Magnificence*, fol. I2r–v.

[57] Guéraud, 46.

[58] Conegrani, fols. 243v–44.

[59] Conegrani, fol. 243v; confirmed by Guéraud, 46, who says it was in black velvet and cloth of silver.

white and green, and manned by a crew of fourteen in the same colors.[60] The *peotina*, another small Venetian craft used for regattas and propelled by eight oarsmen, may perhaps correspond to the boat mentioned in Scève's album, which was decked in tan velvet fringed with silver, and which he qualifies with the flattering title *fuste*, normally used for small one-masted galleys powered by eighteen to twenty oarsmen. Similarly, what Alavarotto and Scève describe as a brigantine was clearly something much smaller than the two-masted galleon conventionally understood by this term; Scève specifies that it was decorated in crimson and gold, and that the crew wore red.

In addition to these five vessels, the centerpiece of Ippolito's reconstruction in France of the Venetian regatta was a small-scale bucentaur which he apparently had built specially.[61] The final design was not very reminiscent of its Venetian model, to the extent that in the Italian version of Scève's album the word bucentaur was dropped and replaced by *gran barcone*. What was required was no less than a small floating banquet hall and ballroom, and the builders obliged with a rectangular classical pavilion, set upon a galliass with no means of propulsion which had to be towed. In the poop was a raised covered dais, painted in the royal colors, from which the king could watch both the river spectacle and the dancers in the pavilion. The gilt figurehead portrayed a giant holding a red rope between his teeth by which the bucentaur was pulled along by another vessel. But the original feature of the vessel was the tall central pavilion topped by a balustraded platform which echoed the balustrade enclosing the spacious deck below. The dimensions of this room, 32.5 feet long, 15 feet wide, and a rather disproportionate 30 feet high,[62] give some indication of the size of the whole vessel. The balustrade rested on an entablature embellished with eponymous lions' heads, supported on doric pilasters, the walls pierced by doors at each end and by windows along the side with alternating segmental and triangular pediments. Apart from the king's dais, the bucentaur was painted bright red with the decorative features such as capitals, doors, window-frames, lions' heads, *fleurs de lys*, all picked out in gold.

Ippolito's work was not yet done, since he was also fitting out, for the final aquatic event on the Sunday evening, a large galley or galliass

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[60] *Magnificence*, fol. 12.

[61] Guéraud, 46.

[62] 13 *pas* x 6 *pas* x 12 *pas*.

which was to be attacked and set on fire by the two civic galleys.[63] All we know of the ship was that it was large enough to have four castles, and that it was full of fireworks. We can therefore see that although the naval entertainment was a tradition in Lyon which the *consulat* did its best to maintain, nonetheless, most of the enterprise and the expenditure seems to have come from Ippolito d'Este, the moving spirit behind this aspect of the royal visit: out of his own pocket he built, or procured, and then fitted out at least seven distinctive craft, leaving himself heavily in debt.

Another feature associated with the river, and reminiscent of the jubilee of 1546, was the need for an additional crossing of the Saône. The contract for the building of the wooden bridge was awarded to Pierre Frerejehan, "marchand et garde des ports": it was to stretch "despuys le port de la Croix du Sablez, pres s[ct] George, en la ruette tendant de la riviere de Saonne à la maison de la Rigaudière, entrant dans la[d] ruete." Construction was delayed until shortly before the king's arrival, and ten days were needed to complete it.[64] It is striking that Scève makes no mention of this bridge in his *livret*.

The last element in the program to be finalized was the one which was to open the entry, the grand procession. This was the most difficult to organize, since it involved the vanities of individuals, and it was also the aspect which departed least from traditional models. As seen as recently as May of that year, when the city went out to welcome the arrival of the governor, Jean de Saint-André,[65] the civic parade was traditionally made up of four contingents: the city fathers, the *enfants de la ville*, the *confréries*, and the *nations*, each section with its escort of trumpets and fifes, and the king's planned visit was to be no exception to this established pattern. To make sure that the parade went smoothly and without disorder, the city enlisted the assistance of Saint-André.[66] High priority and a generous budget was allocated to the music, which was easily arranged by a team made up of the well-known Lyonnais composers Charles Cordeilles and Charles Peyronet, assisted by the city trumpeter, Jean Bret: Bret was commissioned to recruit trumpeters to act as waits; fifes and drummers were loaned by a relation of a city councillor;

[63] Lyon, arch. com., CC 981, no. 5; Guigue, 317; cf. Guéraud, 48.
[64] Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fol. 229v, 248; Guigue, 163, 176; Saulnier, 1:331–32 and n. 37.
[65] Guéraud, 43.
[66] Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fol. 251; Guigue, 179.

and various players of shawms were taken on to perform at Saint-Éloy.[67]

As in 1540, the contingent of the municipality presented little problem either: the order of march was drawn up, and the costumes in "satin et velours cramoisi" were ordered.[68] But again, as in 1540, the contribution of *enfants* was a source of endless trouble.[69] To ensure that a much larger contingent participated than the mere seventeen of 1540 (in the event sixty on foot and seventy mounted were finally to participate in 1548), the *enfants* were banned from leaving the city and bribed with wines and hams;[70] Bernard Salomon was commissioned to design new liveries for them;[71] and although they balked at paying, the threat of heavy fines brought them to heel.[72] After some contention they managed to elect a captain, a lieutenant, and a porte-enseigne for each company, for those on horseback, and for those on foot,[73] while the infantry captain agreed to have a new banner made at his own expense.[74] The representatives of the other confraternities were easier to regiment, although the threat of fines was again needed. As in earlier entries, they were marshalled by trades and *quartiers*,[75] but to give the parade a more military flavor they were to be equipped with 2000 pikes, which were borrowed from the garrison of La Rigaudière with permission of M. de Brissac, *grand-maître de l'artillerie*;[76] and to add to the classical tone many were fitted out with contemporary morions and *animes* intended to evoke *all'antica* armor. The influence of Du Choul is again in evidence here: in his antiquarian papers he was exploring

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[67] Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fols. 248, 251v; CC 981, nos. 9–10; Guigue, 176, 179–80, 315–16; Saulnier, 1:332 and n. 45–46; F. Dobbins, *Music in Renaissance Lyons* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 109–10.

[68] Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fols. 245v, 247v; CC 981, nos. 21–30; 982, no. 40; Guigue, 173–75, 320–23; Saulnier, 1:332–33; 2:145 n. 47–48.

[69] See Tricou, "Enfants," 107–26.

[70] Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fols. 214v–16, 226, 249; Guigue, 156, 161–62, 177.

[71] Rolle, 428–29.

[72] Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fols. 212v, 249v; Guigue, 155, 177; Tricou, "Enfants," 112–15; cf. similar problems at Rouen in. M. M. McGowan, ed. *L'entrée de Henri II à Rouen 1550* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Ltd. & New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., n.d.), 12 [henceforth cited as McGowan].

[73] Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fols. 176–77; Guigue, 149–50; Saulnier, 1:333.

[74] Tricou, "Enfants," 112.

[75] Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fols. 248–49; Guigue, 175–76; Saulnier, 1:334. The archives list these groups: *couturiers; imprimeurs; tissotiers; cordonniers; teinturiers; selliers; habitants de la rue Neuve; bouchers; tisserands; épingliers; cartiers; enfants de Saint-Vincent; pelletiers; arquebusiers; arbalétriers; archers; maçons; orfèvres; fondeurs; chapeliers.*

[76] Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fol. 250; Guigue, 178; Saulnier, 1:332 and n. 44.

equivalents in modern parlance of ancient Roman armor, notably breastplates and morions.[77]

More trouble was encountered in organizing the contingents of the *nations*, made up of representatives of the foreign colonies of merchants operating in Lyons, between whom great jealousy and rivalry prevailed. After menaces not only of fines but of the gallows, they were finally gathered together as late as 20–21 September,[78] although they had long been at work on their magnificent costumes. Akin to the 1540 dispute between the clergy and the *enfants de la ville*, another dispute over precedence broke out in 1548 between two of the foreign colonies, the Genoese and the Florentines, the Genoese insisting on having the place of honor in the procession and refusing to allow the Florentines to pay homage to the king before them. Since neither side would give way, the cardinal of Ferrara left them to sort it out between them, on condition that both contingents appear in the procession; however, the Florentines, confident of their credit at court, appealed to the king, who ruled in their favor at the instigation of the queen.[79] Their pride wounded, the Genoese withdrew from the procession and decided to score points off the Florentines by making their obeisance to the king at the *Logis du Mouton* at Vaise, long before the formal procession even arrived. A similar squabble was to occur between these colonies before Philip's entry to Antwerp.

A major problem facing the organizers was the question of lodgings for the king and court, and royal quartermasters were sent on ahead to requisition accommodation. The king and queen were to be lodged in the *Archevêché*, which Ippolito d'Este ceded to them for the duration, reserving for himself an apartment there with plenty of room for banquets. However, the quartermasters confiscated this apartment and allocated it to Marguerite de Navarre, consigning the cardinal to "così picciolo et stretto alloggiamento che non vi si potea muover' dentro."[80] Ippolito appealed to the cardinal de Guise, who bent the king's ear, and Marguerite was obliged to decamp, clear evidence of her diminished standing in the new regime. The Ferrarese ambassador reported in

[77] G. du Choul, *Discours sur la castrametation des Romains* (Lyon: G. Rouillé, 1556), fols. 6v–8v, 49v–50.

[78] Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fols. 253v–254; Guigue, 181; Saulnier, 1:334, who lists the representatives of each colony.

[79] Alvarotto, busta 25, fols. 192r–v & busta 45, no. 34, 20 Sept. 1548; Conegrani, fol. 234.

[80] Alvarotto, busta 25, fols. 187r–v, 19 Sept.

cipher a rumor that the king had done this out of displeasure at the queen of Navarre's reported maneuvering to find in Prince Philip of Spain a better match for her daughter, Jeanne d'Albret, than the duc de Vendôme, whose marriage to Jeanne had been planned to take place in Lyon.[81]

The municipal finances were in a perilous state even before the entry was mooted, and we have seen that to meet the initial expenditure a 2000 *écus* loan had to be raised in May.[82] The building work on the *jeu de paume* necessitated a further loan of 1500 *livres* on 26 June,[83] and a fortnight later the city had to turn to Lucchesi merchants for additional finance.[84] By mid-August the city was 150,000 *livres* in debt and hard pressed to service it, and they were reduced to pleading unsuccessfully with the king's council to relieve the city of the new levy of about 70,000 *livres*;[85] by the time of the king's arrival the position had worsened to over 200,000 *livres* in the red,[86] with loans being raised to pay the interest. It was a full year after the entry before the accounts were closed and the loss written off.[87] The balance sheets suggest that the whole undertaking had cost the city in excess of 15,000 *livres*.[88] The citizens of Lyon were scarcely allowed to forget these figures, since for the next thirteen years they were made to pay a special levy on wine, by which the city sought to recover some of the costs of this lavish manifestation of civic pride.[89]

If much of the expense fell on the municipal treasury, we should not overlook the major additional contribution made by Ippolito d'Este. This cardinal had a particular penchant for masquerades, banquets, and jousts, and in the French court he found a ready public. Soon after taking up residence in France he had put on a court entertainment in

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[81] Alvarotto, busta 25, fol. 187v, 19 Sept.

[82] Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fols. 175v–176; Guigue, 148–49; Saulnier, 1:337 n. 88.

[83] Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fol. 219v; Guigue, 157–58; Saulnier, 1:337 n. 89.

[84] Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fol. 225v; Guigue, 161; Saulnier, 1:337 n. 90.

[85] Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fols. 239v, 241r–v, 276v; Guigue, 169–71, 184; Saulnier, 1:337 n. 91.

[86] Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fol. 276v; Guigue, 185; Saulnier, 1:337 n. 93.

[87] Lyon, arch. com., BB 70, f° 73; CC 983, fol. 21; Guigue, 193–94, 209; Saulnier, 1:337 n. 94, 96–101; by the spring of 1549 the city notables had been imprisoned for debt to the king, Guéraud, 49.

[88] At least 15,777 *livres*, recorded in the accounts of Jehan Paffy, Anthoine Bonyn, and Humbert de Masso on 9 Oct. 1550, Lyon, arch. com., BB 70, fol. 339v; Guigue, 194; cf. the figure of 15,000 in the *consulat* minutes for 19 Oct. 1548, Lyon, arch. com., BB 68, fol. 247; Guigue, 186. See also the estimate of Saulnier, 1:337 n. 93, 103–4.

[89] Rubys, *Histoire*, 375; Gascon, *Grand commerce*, 425, 428, 803.

February 1541, in which not only he and other grandees took part, but the future Henri II appeared dressed as Diana accompanied by four youths in nymphs' costumes.[90] It is not impossible that this feature inspired the Diana episode in the Lyon entry. On a later visit to Italy, he staged another extravaganza in Ferrara for the carnival of 1545,[91] and the following April held a large banquet for the royal family to celebrate the opening of the new palace built for him by Serlio at Fontainebleau.[92] Despite the hostility of the constable and the Strozzi, but thanks to the support of the Guise,[93] Ippolito's position in royal favor was initially strengthened with the accession of Henri II: he was confirmed as a member of the privy council, had temporal authority restored to his see,[94] and was given, against stiff competition, the lucrative protectorate of French interests in Rome, where he was soon to return.[95] He had much for which to be grateful to Henri II, and this may well explain his reckless expenditure on the royal entry.

We have already seen that much of the cost of the naval spectacle was born by Ippolito d'Este. As archbishop of Lyon, the cost fell upon him of transforming and adorning the *Archevêché*, and notably that of decorating the main reception and banqueting room, where he had the walls hung with rich tapestries and the ceiling painted with royal arms and *devises*.[96] The royal family was to be lodged in the archbishop's palace as Ippolito's guest and at his expense.[97] Scève makes little mention in the *livret* of these embellishments or of this expenditure. He does, however, make much of the victory column in the square outside the archbishop's palace, without mentioning the fact that this too was an initiative due to Ippolito d'Este, as the Mantuan ambassador confirms.[98]

Scève is similarly enthusiastic about the face-lift given to the landing-stage behind the archbishop's palace, without recording the fact that this too was carried out at Ippolito's expense: a second temporary tower was

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[90] Pacifici, *Ippolito*, 66.

[91] Ibid., 92.

[92] Ibid., 93.

[93] Ibid., 101–2.

[94] Ibid., 101; Giustiniani, 20 April 1547, ASV. *Arch. propr. Francia*, register 3.

[95] Pacifici, *Ippolito*, 98, 101.

[96] Conegrani, fol. 242v; the city seems to have contributed some material for the hangings, Guigue, 166.

[97] Alvarotto, busta 25, fol. 195v, 23 Sept.

[98] Conegrani, fol. 242v.

constructed to match the existing stone defense;[99] and between the two the cardinal built a semi-circular portico, described and illustrated in the *livret*, embellished with statues of river gods, with steps leading down to the river.[100] It was from here that the king and queen, who were to lodge at the *Archevêché*, would embark every day to attend different entertainments. The *livret* does, however, pay tribute to the cardinal's lavish transformation of his gardens at Rontalon, in a style which prefigures his later celebrated work on the gardens of Tivoli:[101] statues, heraldic symbols, an arbor, and painted perspectives. It was here on the Wednesday that he was to give yet another banquet and ball.[102] The Italian version of the *livret* also gives elaborate detail of the magnificent décor with which the *Salle Saint-Jean* was adorned, in preparation for the Florentine comedy. One piece of evidence points to the hand of Ippolito d'Este in this major element of the royal visit to Lyon, although he is not mentioned in this context in the *livret*. The *Salle Saint-Jean* was situated next to the cathedral and was part of the archbishop's palace; only he would be able to authorize this transformation, about which the city's accounts are furthermore silent. The respective roles of Ippolito and of the Florentine colony in fitting out the theatre and in arranging the performance of *La Calandra* are discussed later.[103]

If Scève was the "conducteur et ordinateur des ystoires et triumphes" for that part of the entry arranged by the *consulat*, the cardinal of Ferrara seems to have been the kingpin of the whole entry. While the king waited at La Côte-Saint-André, Ippolito hurried on ahead to Lyon to supervise last-minute preparations:

> Prima ch'el Re venisse a Lione de tre dì, si affermò ad un luoco li vicino, decto la costa di S^{to} Andrea, per dar' aggio a quei della terra di mettersi in ordine, et di dar' fine medesimamente ad alcuni apparati che anco erano imperfetti in essa. Mons. Illmo el cardinale di Ferrara, como capo et governatore che n'è, lassata sua Maestà, vi venne, et per accellerare le due cose sodette, et anco per ricevere loro Maestadi como son soliti far' tutti quelli che hano cottali dignitadi.[104]

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[99] Ibid., fols. 242v–243.
[100] Ibid., fol. 243.
[101] Pacifici, *Ippolito*, chaps. 5–6.
[102] *Magnificence*, fol. K2.
[103] See below, *The Italian theatre.*
[104] Conegrani, fol. 234.

Arriving in the city on 18 September,[105] he was faced with the quarrel between the Genoese and the Florentines, which despite his efforts he was unable to resolve.[106] However, in four days of feverish activity he succeeded in completing arrangements at the *Archevêché*, at Rontalon, and for the naumachia, snatching the time on 22 September to write a note to his brother the duke and entrust it to Claude d'Urfé, who was about to leave for Italy:

> Et poi dovendo egli [*d'Urfé*] partir subito fatta l'entrata di sua Maestà, et facendola ella domani, v. Ex^tia si puo imaginare in quante occupationi io mi trovi a questa caussa. Et hora ho voluto anticipar' il tempo in scriver' questa per esser sicuro che non habbia da partire senza una mia per la Ex^tia vostra.[107]

But all this activity and expense was the despair of the Ferrarese ambassador, who informed the duke just how much the cardinal was spending, and how little he would have to show for it after the event.[108] This entry was to prove an expensive and lavish affair, with no expense spared, as the Mantuan ambassador observed:

> et oserò ben dir' che non vi fu nissuno fra tanta compagnia che perdonasse a spesa ne a faticha nissuna per mostrarsi in que dui giorni degno a loro Maestadi che le ponessero gli occhi adosso.[109]

The total expenditure is hard to assess, since there are too many unknowns: we have seen the estimate of 25,000 *livres* for Ippolito d'Este's contribution; the municipal accounts suggest that more than 15,000 *livres* were spent by the city fathers, which compares with the loan of 30,000 *livres* raised for the Paris entry.[110] It is clear that further unspecified but heavy costs fell upon those participating in the parade; however, we have no figures for the expenditure of the Florentine community for the play and theatre. The only contemporary estimate of the overall cost of the royal visit is given by the Ferrarese ambassador:

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105 Alvarotto, busta 25, fol. 183v & busta 45, no. 33, 19 Sept.

106 Conegrani, fol. 234.

107 Ippolito d'Este-Ercole d'Este, 22 Sept. 1548, AS Modena, *Casa e Stato, ramo ducale*, busta 148 (cat. 1709. xiii. 24).

108 Alvarotto, busta 25, fol. 187, 19 Sept. The Venetian ducat was roughly equivalent to Henri II's *écu* (2½ *livres*), so Ippolito spent some 25,000 *livres tournois*.

109 Conegrani, fol. 234.

110 Including the 12,000 *livres* for the sculpture: Bryant, *The King*, 34–35.

> Io intendo per vero che, tra la spesa delle sudette compagnie et certi archi et palchi che si sono fatti per questa entrata, questa città si trova haver' speso de contanti da una 80 m ducati.[111]

This is an enormous sum, equivalent to 200,000 *livres*, which we may, however, wish to treat with some scepticism.

4. *The Parade*

Sunday, 23 September

Despite bad weather earlier in the month, the Lyonnais were blessed with a fine cloudless day for the king's entry on Sunday 23 September.[1] At 10 am. he left his lodgings at the *Abbaye d'Ainay*, south of the city, and went upstream by gondola to the northern suburb of Vaise. Here on a hill beside the river, near the convent of the *L'Observance*, a large inn called the *Logis du Mouton* had been prepared to receive him,[2] and a loggia had been specially constructed, draped in green silk shot with silver thread, hung with rich figured tapestries,[3] and decorated with festoons and with arms of the monarchs and of the dauphin. The municipality was closely following here the pattern of the 1533 entry, for which queen Eléonore had taken up position in a loggia at Vaise to watch the procession. Here Henri II lunched and awaited the procession[4] as it travelled the four bowshots or two harquebus shots from the city gates. After the governor of Lyon, Jean de Saint-André, and some of the Lyonnais nobility had paid homage, as their predecessors had in 1533, it was the unexpected turn of the Genoese, who had withdrawn from the procession itself because of their quarrel with the Florentines.

At noon the Lyonnais clergy arrived in rich vestments on muleback, and having deposited their banners at the *couvent de l'Observance*, they

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[111] Alvarotto, busta 25, fol. 199, 23 Sept.

[1] Conegrani, fol. 234.

[2] *Le grand triumphe faict à l'entrée du Treschrestien et tousiours victorieux Monarche, Henry second de ce nom Roy de France, en sa noble ville et cité de Lyon. Et de la Royne Catherine son espouse* (Paris: for B. de Gourmont, 1548, 8°), fol. A2v [henceforth cited as *Le grand triumphe*]; Conegrani, fol. 234v. The Mouton was the principal inn in Vaise and can be seen in a map in Guillemain, "Histoire de la commune de Vaise, faubourg de Lyon," *Albums du Crocodile*, 1961: 11–13.

[3] Borrowed from Jean Grolier and Thomas Guadagne: Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fol. 252v; Guigue, 181.

[4] Guéraud 44 claims that the procession lasted from 7 am. to noon, and that the king's entry started at 4 pm.

came to pay homage to the king. Contrary to tradition, the religious element was to be almost entirely absent from this entry: in 1533 it had had pride of place in the parade, but the battle fought in 1540 was now definitively lost, and the clergy were to take no part in the great procession, while the cathedral canons themselves awaited the king at the precincts of Saint-Jean. They were not the only conspicuous absentees, since, surprisingly, the large diplomatic corps following the court were also excluded from the entry, not having been invited.[5]

In 1533 the size of the parade had been about six thousand.[6] This time some seven thousand participants filed past the king, including about 5700 representatives of the guilds, assorted musicians, the members of the foreign colonies, of the municipality, and finally the court. It has been calculated that the parade stretched for about 3 kilometers, and that it would have taken between two and three hours for it to pass, allowing a half-hour pause for the gladiators.[7] The eyewitness Guéraud states that the procession lasted five hours.[8] The royal entry had drawn large crowds to Lyon from all over the region, and so public order was at a premium: the parade was therefore headed by the mounted archers of the *prévot des maréchaux*, dressed in green, the color of the cardinal of Ferrara, who was newly responsible for keeping the peace.[9] They ushered in the largest contingent of the parade, the confraternities representing trades and *quartiers*, whose contribution conforms closely to the 1533 precedent.[10] Two eyewitnesses, the author of *Le grand triumphe*[11] and the Mantuan ambassador Conegrani,[12] both describe a succession of twenty bands, as in 1533, although they disagree on the order and indeed on the professions. Scève gives a list of nineteen *confréries* which are substantially the same as in *Le grand triumphe*, but, as in this last account, he groups them into six sections of three trades each, led by the harquebusiers.[13]

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[5] Alvarotto, busta 25, fol. 198, 23 Sept.; by contrast, the ambassadors took part in the 1550 parade in Rouen in company with the bishops and cardinals.

[6] See Cooper, "Culture and politics."

[7] Saulnier, 1:345 n. 131–32.

[8] Guéraud, 44; but he places the parade in the morning.

[9] Magnificence, fol. A3v; Conegrani, fol. 234v.

[10] In 1533 the participants had been: Florentines; *Bourgchanin* quarter; butchers; masons; *blanchiers*; *Place du Boys* quarter; tailors; cobblers; saddlers; *cartiers*; dyers; *Puys peloux* quarter; *espingliers*; *tissotiers*; *Saint-Vincent* quarter; *Saint-Esprit* quarter; *Rue neuve* quarter; furriers & printers.

[11] *Le grand triumphe*, fols. A2v–A4.

[12] Conegrani, fol. 234v.

[13] There is a further authoritative list of trades in the archives, published by Guigue,

Estimates of the size of contingents differ widely. Scève lists 338 harquebusiers, but *Le grand triumphe* and Conegrani give only 150 and 100 plus respectively;[14] Scève mentions 466 butchers, *Le grand triumphe* says 340, Conegrani says 300 (in 1533 there had been 400 butchers). And so it goes on: Scève gives 172 *cartiers* as against 120 in *Le grand triumphe*; 333 tailors as against 140; 226 goldsmiths as against 86; 459 *tissotiers* as against a combined strength of 366 *veloutiers* and *tissotiers*; 316 carpenters as against 100; 286 saddlers compared with 80; 256 cobblers against 220; 192 *épingliers* against 120; 176 hatters compared with 90; 226 casters as against 120; 330 from the *quartier* of Saint-Vincent rather than 300; 187 furriers as against 140; and 413 printers compared with 350. In only one case, the weavers, are the numbers given fairly close (207 to 200); and in only two cases does *Le grand triumphe* give a larger size for a contingent than Scève: the dyers (446 against 530) and the masons (306 against 730). Only in the cases of the harquebusiers and the butchers do we have the third estimate of Conegrani, and his figures agree with the *Le grand triumphe*: the suspicion therefore arises, although the evidence is slender, that Scève may have exaggerated the figures for the sake of effect.[15]

The order of march was the same for each section, all marching three abreast: first came fifes and tabors, leading in the captains of each of the three trades making up that section, followed by the contingent of the first trade, armed with their borrowed pikes; more fifes and drums, then the ensigns of the three trades leading the second contingent of pikebearing tradesmen; yet more fifes and drums preceding the three lieutenants, and finally the third contingent.

The witnesses of the entry lay repeated stress on the large numbers and the discipline; but their chief interest is in the costumes—whether the colors, the material, or the embellishments—and in the arms and armour. Virtually all contingents sported the king's colors, black and white, in various materials, velvet, satin, taffetas or silk; some flaunted variants such as silver or grey to replace white, and many enhanced the

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176–77. Common to most of the four lists we have: tailors, printers, *tisserands*, *tissotiers*, cobblers, dyers, saddlers, butchers, *épingliers*, *cartiers*, furriers, harquebusiers, masons, goldsmiths, casters, hatters, *Saint-Vincent*, carpenters; others mentioned are *la Rue neuve*, crossbowmen, tanners, and boatmen.

[14] *Le grand triumphe*, fol. A2v; Conegrani, fols. 234v–35.

[15] The accuracy of these statistics is important to give evidence of the number of workers attached to each master in the individual trades: see Gascon, *Grand commerce*, 396–98.

effect with ornaments such as gold buttons or black material shot with silver. From this uniformity of color only the butchers stand out with their crimson strip.[16] The tailors conformed to the royal livery, but added a third colour, green, and their material was shot with gold and silver; similarly, the casters added orange to the royal colors, and those of Saint-Vincent added red; the printers and booksellers sported eye-catching yellow, but wore black hats and white plumes. As to the captains, ensigns, and lieutenants of each troop, they wore the same colors as their followers, but in more costly materials and with more elaborate decoration and embroidery. Conegrani describes the goldsmiths and the printers as having the finest costumes, as was only appropriate to their professions which were, in his view, far removed from the other eighteen plebeian trades.[17] The lieutenant of the *capitaine de la ville*, leading this part of the parade, also stood out for the caparison of his horse and for his black velvet *casaque* decorated with gold buttons "faictz à rose." The pikes which had been loaned for the parade had been embellished by certain trades: the butchers had gilded the tips; tailors had done the same and had sheathed the pikes in silver; the harquebusiers each carried two of their weapons which had been gilded.[18] As to armor, the boatman and goldsmiths wore morions, the first six rows of butchers wore gilt *animes* and morions, while the harquebusiers wore gilt morions with black and white plumes decked with gold sequins.

If the parade of the *confréries* was a traditional element, that of the foreign merchants was no more innovative, and had figured in the 1533 entries, although in a different position, namely between the *enfants de la ville* on foot and those on horseback. In 1533 the order of these merchants had been first the Luccans, then the Florentines, then the Germans, with no place for either the Genoese or the Milanese; but the same order was maintained in 1548 for the other three nations. As in the case of the *confréries*, the organizers had tried to make the foreign contingents conform to the pattern of the whole parade. Thus to match the earlier ranks of three captains, each nation was preceded by three notables, a consul and two counsellors: as each group passed before the king these notables would, according to the Mantuan ambassador, offer

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[16] They had shown their political muscle in a strike against taxes in 1545–46, A. Kleinclausz, *Histoire de Lyon* (Lyon: P. Masson, 1939), 1:387–88; Gascon, *Grand commerce*, 428, 802.

[17] Conegrani, fol. 235; they also had come out on strike in 1539: see Davis, *Society & Culture*, 1–16.

[18] Conegrani, fols. 234v–35.

homage and undying devotion in return for continuing protection of their interests.[19] However, here the resemblance to the *confréries* ends, because the foreign contingents were arrayed in outstandingly magnificent and showy costumes, which caught the eye of observers and reflected credit on the particular nation, especially since they were the only part of the whole parade to have commissioned two sets of costumes, and to change colors and materials for the entry of the queen.

As in 1533, the Luccans were preceded by four mounted pageboys, who showed off their skills at bareback acrobatic horsemanship; but this time they and their horses were dressed in the king's colors and in costume evoking ancient Roman cavalry (although the Mantuan ambassador thought the style Moorish). In Scève's *livret* and in Conegrani's dispatch this antiquarian dress is described in admiring detail: their tunic was in cloth of silver shaded to look like armor (or flesh according to Conegrani, who thought they looked naked),[20] over which was cast a short silver military cloak modelled on the *paludamentum*; like Roman soldiers they were bare-legged with knee-length boots, and bare-headed with a short haircut "à la Cesariane,"[21] and they carried a golden baton.[22] The style clearly set the antiquarian tone for the entry and greatly pleased the king; once again the details seem to derive from the scholarship of Du Choul, who was attempting to reconstruct the costume of Roman cavalry.[23] Scève insists that they were followed by some Luccan merchants on foot in the king's colors, but other witnesses suggest that these were the servants of the Luccan nobles who followed in pairs on muleback, dressed in black velvet and satin[24] as they had been in 1533.[25] For the queen's entry they transposed the black velvet and satin for their cloaks and tunics, decorated their cloaks with green trimmings in Catherine's honour,[26] and added crimson velvet to their lackeys' costumes.[27] Although very splendid, this contingent numbered no more than thirteen.[28]

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[19] Ibid., fol. 236.

[20] Ibid., fols. 235r–v.

[21] Cf. Rabelais, *Gargantua*, ed. M. A. Screech (Geneva: Droz, 1964), xvii, 5.; *Le grand triumphe*, fol. A4v: "teste et iambe nues, à la façon antique, usitée aux triumphes anciens."

[22] Conegrani, fol. 235r–v.

[23] Du Choul, *Castrametation*, cit., fols. 25v–31.

[24] Alvarotto, busta 25, fol. 198, 23 Sept.; Conegrani, fols. 235r–v.

[25] *L'entree de la Royne*, fol. B3.

[26] Conegrani, fol. 243.

[27] Ibid., fol. 243r–v.

[28] Ibid., fol. 235v.

A much larger contingent followed, that of the Florentines, who made up the dominant foreign commercial colony in Lyon. As with the Luccans they were preceded by mounted pages, six in all, four of them merely children, but all dressed in the king's colors in embroidered tunics in cloth of silver with wide embroidered sleeves which attracted notice, as did their white hats and boots and the striking caparison of their horses.[29] They were followed by between thirty and forty Florentine nobles,[30] riding in pairs, dressed in crimson and scarlet velvet and satin (as they had been in 1533),[31] interspersed with ranks of lackeys in the royal livery. Their contingent was completed in style by the consul and two counsellors, arrayed in the same colors but enhanced with cloth of gold.[32] Scève devotes a long paragraph to the description of the Florentines and lays stress on their success with the onlookers. On the following day they made a special effort for their Florentine queen, transposing the materials as the Luccans had done[33] and adding elaborate green trimmings and plumes to their own and their lackeys' costumes.[34]

The Milanese were a much smaller group, a dozen at most,[35] riding in twos on palfreys caparisoned in black, and themselves splendidly dressed for the king's entry in black damask with sleeves decorated in gold,[36] and for the queen's entry in black velvet instead of damask.[37] Color was provided by the lackeys who accompanied them, dressed from head to foot in crimson,[38] and who, for the queen, added green feathers. Scève passes very cursorily over the company of German merchants: yet we learn from others that they were a large contingent, over forty;[39] they were preceded by four mounted pages in white satin[40] and accompanied by lackeys in the same material, but in the king's colors, replacing black with green for the queen's entry. The merchants

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[29] Alvarotto, busta 25, fol. 198, 23 Sept.; Conegrani, fol. 235v.

[30] Alvarotto, busta 25, fol. 198, 23 Sept.

[31] Alvarotto, busta 25, fol. 198r–v, 23 Sept.; Conegrani, fol. 235v.

[32] Alvarotto, busta 25, fol. 198v, 23 Sept.; Conegrani, fol. 235v.

[33] Conegrani, fol. 243.

[34] *Magnificence,* fol. I3v; Conegrani, fol. 243r–v.

[35] Conegrani, fols. 235v–36.

[36] Alvarotto, busta 25, fol. 198v, 23 Sept.; Conegrani, fols. 235v–36; *Le grand triumphe,* fol. A4v, says they wore the king's livery.

[37] Conegrani, fol. 243.

[38] Alvarotto, busta 25, fol. 198v, 23 Sept.; Conegrani, fols. 235v–36.

[39] Conegrani, fol. 236.

[40] Alvarotto, busta 25, fol. 198v, 23 Sept.

themselves rode horses caparisoned in black and silver and wore white and black satin lined with cloth of silver,[41] exchanging the satin for taffetas (or ermine) for the queen.[42] But the Mantuan ambassador sounds a false note in observing that the colors of the costumes were not harmonized, and only a quarter of the German contingent was wearing the requisite royal black and white.[43]

Although the Genoese did not finally take part in the procession, they had prepared a magnificent sartorial display, which Scève chooses to record, although the other observers make no mention of details. Eight lackeys in black and white satin and silk led in the consul, his two counsellors, and the Genoese notables in pairs, all dressed in cloth of silver and in black satin and velvet with gold buttons on the sleeves, and with ranks of further lackeys between each row of notables. For the queen they were even more splendid, adding scarlet cloth of gold and velvet to their ensembles, and fitting their lackeys out in the regulation white and green.[44] It is evident from all these accounts to what lengths the five *nations* had gone to create an effect, with two sets each of lavish liveries, while remaining broadly within the royal colors. The propaganda success of their efforts occupies many column inches in the reports of the entry, and in his *livret* Scève betrays his own preferences by devoting more space to the two Francophile contingents, the Luccans and the Florentine exiles.

In 1533 the officers of justice and of the *sénéchaussée*, together with the members of the *parlement* of the Dombes, had come earlier in the parade, between the clergy and the *confréries*; in 1548 they followed the *nations* and preceded the representatives of the Lyonnais families. Notable among them were the twenty-five sergeants who kept order in the name of the cardinal archbishop, sporting his colors of red, white, and black and his *impresa*, and behind them some thirty royal officers.[45] But the next part of the parade followed closely the earlier 1533 pattern: the notables of the city followed by the *enfants de la ville*, the city fathers, and finally the court.

As in 1533, the *enfants* were divided into two contingents, one on foot and one on horseback, corresponding to a desire to recreate in this

[41] *Le grand triumphe*, fol. A4v; Alvarotto, busta 25, fol. 198v, 23 Sept.; Conegrani, fol. 236.

[42] *Magnificence,* fol. I3v; Conegrani, fol. 243.

[43] Conegrani, fol. 236.

[44] *Magnificence,* fol. I3.

[45] Alvarotto, busta 25, fol. 198v, 23 Sept.

section of the parade a simulacrum of the Roman army—infantry and cavalry.[46] The footsoldiers themselves were divided into a vanguard, which Scève estimates at about 60, the mainguard of about 160, and a rearguard of another 60, led by the lieutenant Hugues Turry;[47] ahead of the mainguard went the captain, his guard, and the standard-bearer, Jacques Tourvéon, carrying the company banner with the silver lion of the city on a crimson field.[48] Unlike in 1540, when the *enfants* had refused to spend anything on new liveries, this time the nobles had ordered new outfits of varying splendor according to their means, in their traditional colors, crimson satin and velvet and cloth of gold or silver, as seen in 1533; to these they had added the king's colors of black and white, and many had heightened the effect with gold braiding, with *devises*, gold or silver chains, rings or buttons, and even with precious stones.[49] For armor they wore imitations in rich material of *animes*, corselets, and habergeons; on their heads, imitations in velvet or cloth of gold of morions; at their sides, curved swords like scimitars with lions' heads on the pommel; on their legs they had gilt or silvered boots;[50] in their hands, double ended gilded *sagaies* imitating Roman weapons.[51] A leitmotif in their ensemble was the lion's head, with a ring in its mouth from which hung further embellishments, including the sword in its scabbard decorated with a ram's head. This livery, and in particular that of the captain of the footsoldiers, Claude Raveyrie, seems to have held a particular fascination both for the Mantuan ambassador and for Scève, who devotes more than three pages to describing the costumes, accompanying his description with the first engraving in his *livret*, that of the captain. While the latter's colors conformed broadly to those of the vanguard ahead and of the main troop behind him, the cut of his own costume was slightly different, notably in the sleeves, and much more ornate, being covered with embroidery, pearls, gold stars and silver crescents.[52] Raveyrie was escorted by four lackeys, fifes and tabors all in black,[53] and a dozen pikemen wearing the captain's color, grey, plus

[46] Guéraud, 44–45.

[47] *Magnificence*, fols. B4v, C3v. Some observers put the numbers lower, at 80 in the vanguard and 80 others: Alvarotto, busta 25, fol. 198v, 23 Sept.; Conegrani, fol. 236v.

[48] *Magnificence*, fol. C3v; Conegrani, fol. 236r–v.

Le grand triumphe, fol. B; Alvarotto, busta 25, fol. 198v, 23 Sept.

[50] *Le grand triumphe*, fol. B; Alvarotto, busta 25, fol. 198v, 23 Sept.

[51] Another detail from Du Choul's research, *Castrametation* cit., fol. 12.

[52] Conegrani, fol. 236v.

[53] Ibid., fol. 236v.

the king's colors. Observers agree that the intended overall effect was antiquarian, vaguely Roman,[54] although the Mantuan ambassador thought the captain at least looked more ancient Greek than Roman,[55] and *Le grand triumphe* even described the infantry's dress as Turkish.[56] Scève himself, for all his antiquarian enthusiasm, had to confess that the costume was not authentically Roman, comparing the armor less to a Roman breastplate than to a medieval *halecret*. But the intention to remind the king of Lyon's history as a Roman colony cannot be doubted, as later inscriptions were to confirm.

Here we come across an enigma: between the vanguard and the mainguard Scève places a half-hour interlude, to which he devotes more than two pages, and which Sauvage and Brantôme[57] describe as one of the highpoints of the whole week, namely the combat of the gladiators. The enigmatic element lies in the fact that no other witness makes any mention of this interlude, let alone of its success. And yet we have already seen that the *consulat* had hired a dozen swordsmen, at the suggestion of Scève himself; one wonders whether Scève has exaggerated the success of an element which only one other contemporary source, Sauvage, sees fit to mention.

The red and white teams, of six swordsmen each, took part in a succession of duels using modern weapons, but with the intention of imitating classical gladiatorial techniques. The novelty consisted in matching different weapons, pike against two-handed sword, or sword and dagger against sword and buckler; or in having duels of two against two, three against three, or even six against six in general mêlée. Weapons were broken in the fierce ardor of combat, and the spectacle so pleased the king that he asked for it to be repeated later in the week. It has been argued persuasively that what was performed here was an attempted reconstruction of the classical pyrrhic dance described by authorities such as Plato, Lucian, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[58] This would clearly have been to the taste of antiquarians like Scève, Du Choul, and Aneau; however, two factors need to be taken into consideration. The first is the absence in both the French and Italian texts of any mention

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[54] *Magnificence*, fol. C2; Alvarotto, busta 25, fol. 198v, 23 Sept.

[55] Conegrani, fol. 236v.

[56] *Le grand triumphe*, fol. B.

[57] Sauvage in appendix F.; P. de Brantôme, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. L. Lalanne (Paris, 1867), 3:250–52.

[58] M. M. McGowan, "A Renaissance war dance: the pyrrhic," *Dance Research*, 3 n° 1 (1984): 29–38.

of music to accompany the movements of the gladiators. The second is the fact that one of the organizers, Du Choul, when writing about the pyrrhic in a passage on Augustus' funeral, described the dance not as a gladiatorial exercise, but as a horse-ballet.[59] It seems plausible, therefore, that this spectacle was less a dance than an attempt to fuse modern duelling practice with evidence of Roman techniques of hand-to-hand combat, in which Du Choul had a particular interest and on which he was soon to publish.[60]

The *enfants de la ville* on horseback were dressed in the same traditional colors and materials as the infantry, although more expensive and showy,[61] and adapted to riding; the author of the *Le grand triumphe* found it no easier than before to identify the intended ancient Roman inspiration, describing the costumes as Turkish.[62] The Mantuan ambassador estimated that each costume *all'antica* had set the wearer back no less than 300 *scudi*.[63] The company, estimated at between forty and seventy horsemen,[64] rode behind their banner, which was similar to that of the infantry,[65] on richly caparisoned mounts,[66] and they impressed onlookers with their feats of horsemanship, as they had in 1533.[67] They were led by their captain, Jacques Doillon, *sieur* de Servières, whose costume was dripping in jewels, including a particularly large one on his chest, while his scimitar was encrusted with yet more stones.[68] As with the infantry captain, Doillon was escorted by attendants wearing his own color, blue, and mounted trumpeters,[69] mounted pages,[70]

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[59] G. du Choul, *De la religion des anciens Romains* (Lyon: G. Rouillé, 1556, fol.), 75: "ils faisoyent une course de chevaux autour de ce bastiment, ou tous les chevaliers couroyent en limaçon par ordre, faisants une dance d'une mesure qui s'appelloit Pyrrique. Semblablement les coches couroyent alentour, gardants un mesme ordre, dessus lesquelles estoyent montez les cochiers et gouverneurs de ces chars, accoustrez et vestus de pourpre, comme veloux cramoisy, portants masques sur le visaige, qui retiroyent aux Capitaines et Ducs Romains, des Princes et des Empereurs du temps passé, qui suyvoyent l'ordonnance des autres."

[60] Du Choul, *Castrametation,* fols. 6v–12v.

[61] *Le grand triumphe*, fol. B; Alvarotto, busta 25, fols. 198v–199, 23 Sept.; Conegrani, fols. 236v–37.

[62] *Le grand triumphe*, fol. B.

[63] Conegrani, fols. 236v–37.

[64] 70 by Scève; 40 by both the Mantuan and Ferrarese ambassadors.

[65] Conegrani, fols. 236v–37.

[66] *Magnificence,* fols. C4v–D; *Le grand triumphe*, fol. B.

[67] *Magnificence,* fol. D; cf. *L'entree de la Royne*, cit., fol. Br–v.

[68] Conegrani, fols. 236v–37.

[69] 12 according to Scève, but Alvarotto says 6: busta 25, fols. 198v–199.

[70] 6 according to Scève, but Alvarotto, busta 25, fols. 198v–199, says 4, and Conegrani, fols. 236v–37, says 3.

and valets on foot, some attached to Doillon, and two each to every horseman.[71] The splendid effect moved Scève to lyrical outburst, comparing the scene to "une droite faerie," which allegedly left onlookers wondering if they were dreaming, and he had the captain immortalized in a woodcut; but Scève was not alone in his reaction, and the effect similarly impressed the other witnesses.

As was traditional, the *enfants de la ville* were followed by the city fathers and other officers, led in by four *mandeurs*,[72] and by the *capitaine de la ville*, Jehan Salla, who had been the chief organizer of the parade; but his black velvet costume trimmed in gold, and the blue and white satin of his escort of twelve, win scant attention from Scève or from other observers.[73] Despite lengthy descriptions in the municipal archives, the costumes of the city fathers and officials, who had planned and financed the whole entry, are also dispatched in a couple of lines by observers including Scève, who dryly remarks that they were put into the shade by the splendor of the court which was following close on their heels.[74]

Here again witnesses disagree on the order of the procession, which was depleted anyway according to Conegrani by the absence of many courtiers on royal business.[75] Scève and Alvarotto place first the *gentilshommes de la chambre*, whom Scève claims took the breath away with their displays of horsemanship;[76] but the *Le grand triumphe*, which numbers them at a hundred, places them later, just before the *grand écuyer*,[77] and puts first the company of 120 Swiss guards, dressed in the king's colors, carrying halberds and flanked by fifes and tabors: for Alvarotto and Conegrani the Swiss came second, preceding Jacques de Saint-André, while for Scève they came third, after him.[78] Scève says nothing about the Maréchal de Saint-André's costume, despite his high favor with the king, and he does not even rate a mention in *Le grand triumphe*. Conegrani and Alvarotto agree that he was preceded by trumpets and heralds; Conegrani says he was dressed in white velvet,[79]

[71] Conegrani, fols. 236v–37.
[72] Alvarotto, busta 25, fol. 199, 23 Sept.
[73] Alvarotto, busta 25, fol. 199, 23 Sept.
[74] *Magnificence*, fol. D2; Conegrani, fol. 237r–v.
[75] Conegrani, fol. 237v.
[76] *Magnificence*, fol. D2r–v; Alvarotto, busta 25, fol. 199, 23 Sept.
[77] *Le grand triumphe*, fol. Bv.
[78] Alvarotto, 23 Sept., AS Modena, busta 25, fol. 199; Conegrani, fol. 237v.
[79] Conegrani, fol. 237v.

while Alvarotto suggests that he was dressed in the same black velvet shot with gold as the eleven prominent courtiers who accompanied him, and as the *grand écuyer* coming later.[80] Scève and Alvarotto agree that the cardinals came next[81] (although Scève places the Swiss in between), while Conegrani and *Le grand triumphe* place them last, after the king.[82] All agree the *grand écuyer* Claude de Boisy followed, bearing the sword of state and with a space left for the constable absent in Bordeaux;[83] Conegrani specifies that Boisy wore black velvet decorated in gold.[84]

It was at this point that the king himself left his loggia and joined the procession, both he and his horse arrayed in a dazzling ensemble embroidered in gold and studded with jewels.[85] Behind him rode the princes of the Blood and the other great princes, about whom Scève surprisingly gives no information; others, however, noted the costume of Vendôme which almost outshone that of the king, those of Anghien and Montpensier in scarlet velvet, and those of La-Roche-sur-Yon and Guise in black satin embroidered in gold.[86] Conegrani and *Le grand triumphe* place the cardinals at this point, unlike Scève and Alvarotto, but all agree that the procession concluded with the king's mounted archers.[87]

The king was met at the *porte de Bourgneuf* by a delegation of six city fathers, carrying the specially commissioned portable canopy in black satin and cloth of silver bearing his *devise*. For the rest of the procession he was to ride under this canopy flanked by eight squires dressed in white.[88] After passing under the deep coffered vault of the arch, decorated with floral motifs and grotesques and with a large round skylight in the middle, the king entered the city, its streets lined with staging for the crowds, its houses hung with material, carpets, festoons, and royal shields. On arrival at Porte-froc, the transfer of control from city to

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[80] Alvarotto, busta 25, fols. 199–195v [*sic*], 23 Sept.

[81] Ibid., busta 25, fol. 195v, 23 Sept.

[82] *Le grand triumphe*, fol. Bv; Conegrani, fols. 237v–38.

[83] *Magnificence*, fol. D2v; *Le grand triumphe*, fol. Bv; Alvarotto, busta 25, fol. 195v, 23 Sept. Alvarotto mixes up Boisy with Saint-André as to which one was representing Montmorency.

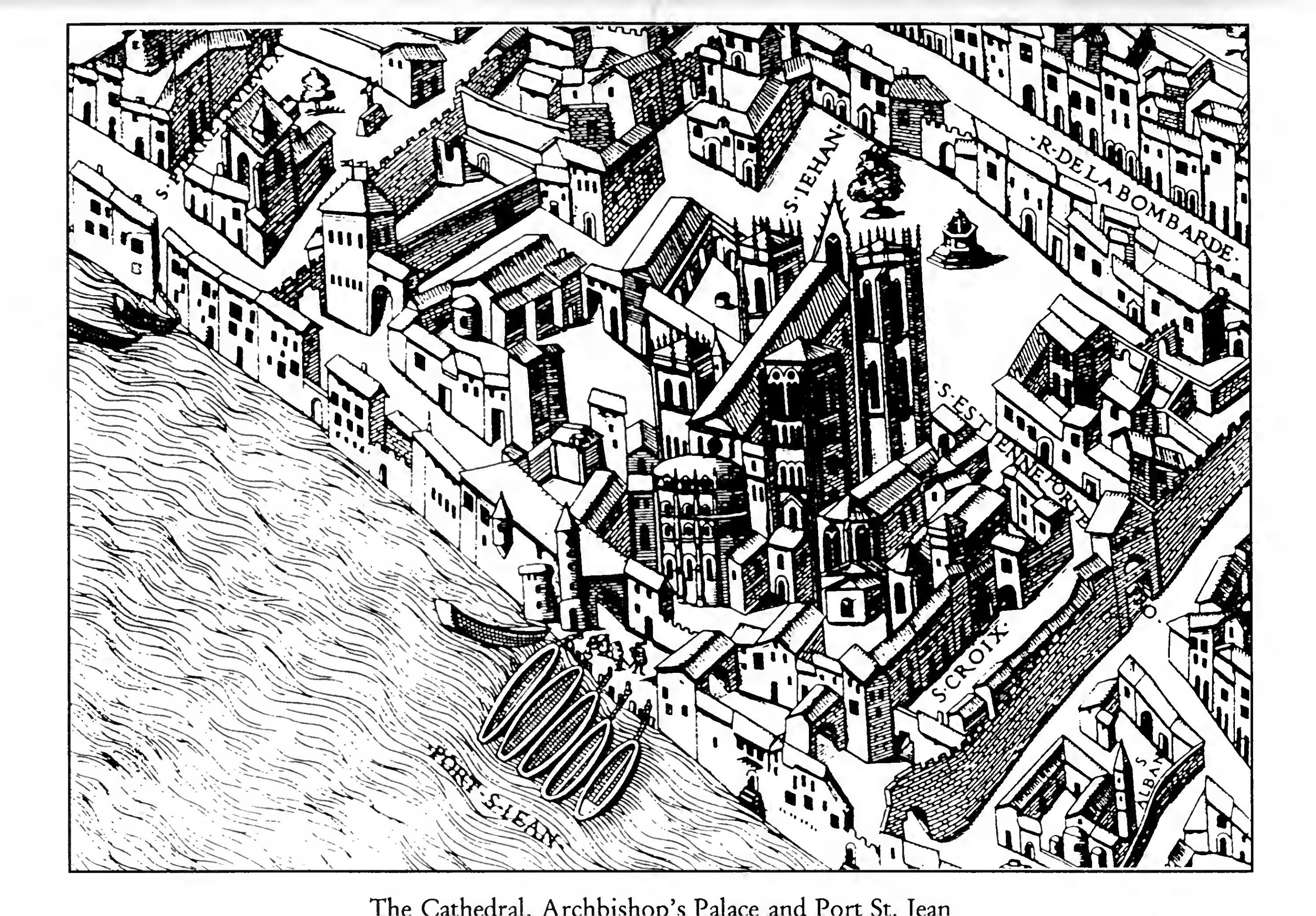
[84] Conegrani, fol. 237v.

[85] Alvarotto, busta 25, fol. 195v, 23 Sept.; Conegrani, fol. 237v.

[86] Alvarotto, busta 25, fol. 195v, 23 Sept.; Conegrani, fol. 237v.

[87] Conegrani, fol. 238; Alvarottto, busta 25, fol. 195v, 23 Sept.; *Le grand triumphe*, fol. Bv.

[88] *Magnificence*, fol. F; Alvarotto, busta 25, fol. 195v, 23 Sept.; Conegrani, fol. 237v; cf. Paris entry, ed. McFarlane, 23.



The Cathedral, Archbishop's Palace and Port St. Jean

clergy took place, with the king being met here by the cardinal and chapter, and the canopy supplied by the city being replaced by the black and white one made for the cathedral: the king rode under this for the last stage of the procession.

Henri's final arrival at the *embarcadère* behind the cathedral marked the terminus of the triumphal entry and the close of the day's public entertainment, since night had fallen. He was able to see from the port the flotilla of ships which had followed him along the Saône right from Vaise to the cathedral; he was also able to look across to La Rigaudière, the arsenal on the opposite bank from which a salvo had been fired when he arrived at the cathedral. The evening was now completed with a dinner in the archbishop's palace, after which the ladies of Lyon, so admired by the courtiers according to Brantôme, were invited to a reception.[89]

5. *Architecture and Iconography*

The visual theme of this entry was the re-creation of a Roman townscape such as might have been seen in *Lugdunum*. With the aid of some judicious demolition work, the planners were able to clear sites in which to create in little more than a hundred days an antiquarian setting appropriate for Henri's triumphal progress: classical arches, first seen in France in entries to Lyon; victory columns, an obelisk, and a trophy; a double-arched fountain-cum-grotto; a massive triumphal arch-cum-temple; a peristyled port; and a theatre. All were bedecked with statues and inscriptions, and although the inspiration was ostensibly Roman, we can detect a good measure of fantasy in the design, together with strong Italian influence in the decorative arabesques and festoons,[1] and a few isolated transitional features from medieval iconography. As has been pointed out, these monuments would have contrasted sharply with the predominately medieval architecture of the cramped city; for all their transience, they may be viewed as models for a ideal redesign of the city in neo-classical taste, forerunners of initiatives such as Serlio's plans for the *Loge du Change*.[2]

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[89] Conegrani, fol. 243. On the canopy see Bryant, *The King*, 101–4, 229.

[1] Chartrou, *Les entrées*, 89–112.

[2] F. Joukovsky, "Lyon ville imaginaire," in A. Possenti & G. Mastrangelo, eds. *Il Rinascimento a Lione* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1988), 1:421–41; P. Sharratt, "The imaginary city of Bernard Salomon," in P. Ford and G. Jondorf., eds. *Intellectual life in Renaissance Lyon* (Cambridge: Cambridge French Colloquia, 1993), 33–48.

i. The obelisk

The opening section of the triumphal procession led through open fields from Vaise, past the *couvent de l'Observance*, along the river to the castle of Pierre-Scize, which stood on a hill overlooking the Saône. As the king set off in this direction, a flotilla of ships also moved off along the Saône, keeping pace with the royal party as it moved though the city, and joining up with the procession at the three ports along the route.

On the river bank by the castle of Pierre-Scize, in a very cramped site which had had to be amplified by the removal of rock and the demolition of a house,[3] the planners had built their first *ystoire*, an obelisk which echoed an important construction of the 1533 entry. However, this new obelisk was more closely copied from actual models, in this case probably the Vatican obelisk[4] which Guillaume du Choul, one of Scève's collaborators, had had drawn in his manuscript on Roman antiquities,[5] showing the shaft mounted on four feet resting on a pedestal. Built in wood and canvas, the 50 foot shaft[6] was painted to look like grey marble, and cracks had been left in the upper rusticated part in which grass grew to make the monument look ancient. A variant on the Vatican model was introduced by replacing the sphere on the summit with the royal crescent. The lower part of the shaft was painted with various Henrican devices: more crescents, the H and D monogram, the pair of unstrung bows, and the royal coat of arms.

Unlike the later Parisian obelisk and the earlier 1533 one, which were more closely modeled on the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, no attempt was made here to portray hieroglyphs or anything with an Egyptian flavor: indeed the elements of decoration which do not specifically concern the king and his mistress are firmly Roman. On two sides of the obelisk, not illustrated in the woodcut, there were compartments surrounded by grotesques, and portraying Victories, with the usual attributes of festoons and palm branches. Beneath them were figures of what Scève describes as Discords or Furies, with butterfly wings patterned with eyes, and who were

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[3] Lyon, arch. com., CC 980, no. 14; Guigue, 289, 9–16 Sept. The obelisk and portal were being erected in early September, ibid., 277.

[4] Conegrani, fol. 238v.

[5] G. du Choul, *Des antiquités romaines*, Bibl. reale Turin, MS. *Var.* 212, fol. 70. There is also a woodcut of various obelisks in S. Serlio, *Il terzo libro* (Venice: F. Marcolini, 1544), lxvii.

[6] *Le grand triumphe* confirms this height of the shaft, as well as that of the base, as 12 feet; Conegrani estimates the obelisk at *tre piche e meggia*, which, with the pike measurement a little over 5 meters, gives us about 54 feet.

blowing on fires in classical vases, which in turn were being quenched by *Amores*. The vase with flames is an attribute of Discord in Colonna,[7] but the butterfly wings are more commonly associated with the fleeting Hours[8] than with Discord. The obelisk was supported by four lions resting on a pedestal twelve feet high: although Scève does not describe the decoration, Salomon's woodcut shows this to have been painted with an imitation of a Roman relief of a battle with cavalry, reinforcing the association of the king with victory.

ii. Arch at Pierre-Scize

At the foot of the hill stood the gate of Pierre-Scize, which the planners had decorated as the first triumphal arch of the Entry, in emulation of the arches in the earlier 1515 and 1533 entries to Lyon.[9] The four in this entry were all single arches with double columns, which show affinities with one in the *Hypnerotomachia*,[10] and with the research of Du Choul. This arch attached to the *porte de Pierre-Scize* differs from later ones in having pairs of twisted columns made of wood, according to Conegrani, and painted with foliage.[11] At the corners of the entablature we see vases of flowers with flames coming out, intended here as a symbol of joy.[12] Between the entablature and the pediment was a large painted relief portraying two female figures embracing[13] in a lily garden: Conegrani describes them as a woman with a lion (representing Lyon) welcoming a woman wearing the king's crescent symbol (representing either the king or his mistress).[14] However, Scève and *Le grand triumphe*[15] give an alternative interpretation of them as the medieval figures of Fidelity and Obedience, and describe their traditional attributes, Fidelity with a dog,[16] and Obedience with a yoke,[17] both

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[7] G. de Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane 1450–1600* (Geneva: E. Droz, 1958), col. 399 [henceforth cited as Tervarent].

[8] Tervarent, col. 15.

[9] Chartrou, *Les entrées*, 89.

[10] *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Venice: A. Manutius, 1499), fol. cviii; closer parallel in the French translation (Paris: J. Kerver, 1546), fol. 13v.

[11] Conegrani, fol. 238v.

[12] More commonly a symbol of love, divine or profane: see Tervarent, col. 119–20, 396–99.

[13] Usually signifying Justice and Peace: ibid., col. 176.

[14] Conegrani, fols. 238v–239.

[15] *Le grand triumphe*, fol. B2v.

[16] Tervarent, col. 94–95; Chartrou, *Les entrées*, 41.

[17] Usually a symbol of union or marriage. Tervarent, col. 225–26; but associated with Fidelity by Scève, *Délie*, ed. I. D. McFarlane, Cambridge 1966, 240.

of which can be made out in the woodcut, as can the lion guarding the entrance to the garden. But the picture does not show the inscriptions which we know completed the decoration.[18]

Like the later arch at Saint-Éloy, this one was double-sided, but only Scève describes the scene painted on the reverse, the story of Androclus and the lion allegedly drawn from a marble in Rome.[19] The choice of this subject might seem a surprise, were it not, once again, for Du Choul's 1538 manuscript on Roman antiquities: this contains, in the section on circuses, two pages on Androclus, who was spared in the arena by a lion from whose paw he had removed a splinter years before.[20] The same story had been used soon afterwards by another of the entry organizers, Aneau, in his 1541 play, *Lyon marchant*, where Androclus represents the governor of the city, Jean de Saint-André.[21] The direct transmission of this story from Du Choul to Aneau and to Scève is seen in the misspelled form given by all three of the hero's name, Androdus, clearly deriving from a misread manuscript.[22] This story commended itself not only for continued symbolism of the lion/Lyon, but also as a parable encouraging a great man (Henri II) to return a favor done by a subject (Lyon), a theme echoed in the accompanying inscription.[23] The 1548 painting was to see double service, since it was preserved by the *consulat* and then re-used by Aneau for the 1550 entry he was commissioned to organize for the new governor, Jacques de Saint-André, for whom the encouragement to generosity seemed again appropriate.[24]

iii. Arch at Bourgneuf

A short distance along the riverside from Pierre-Scize, the procession reached the city walls and the first city gate, the *fausse-porte de Bourgneuf*, situated between the hill and the Saône. The theme of ruined anti-

[18] See below, *Inscriptions*.

[19] Aelian, *De natura animalium* 7.48; but probably known to the Lyonnais humanists from Aulus Gellius 5.14, since they all cite, with him, the lost source in Apion's *Aegyptiaca*. I cannot trace any relief or inscription: has Scève misinterpreted Gellius' statement, V.14.29, that the story was written out on a tablet?

[20] Du Choul, MS. Turin, fol. 12r–v.

[21] *Lyon marchant. Satyre Françoise* (Lyon: P. de Tours, 1542, 8°), fols. A2v, B7; cf. modern reprint (Paris 1831); like Du Choul Aneau mistakenly attributes the story to Appian, bk. 5.

[22] L. Holford-Strevens, *Aulus Gellius* (London: Duckworth, 1988), 228 n. 10.

[23] See below, *Inscriptions*.

[24] See below, *The Afterglow*.

quity introduced in the obelisk was taken up again in a short stretch of the wall which ran between the gate and the nearby hill. This wall was decorated to look like the Gallo-roman circuit walls in France, which had been hastily built in the third century out of the ruins of the suburbs under threat of barbarian invasion: inserted into this piece of scenery were such architectural fragments.

In 1533 this medieval *fausse-porte* had been decorated as a triumphal arch dedicated to *Fides* and *Amor*, before which a long *mystère* had been enacted; in 1548 the gate was again decorated, this time with three figures. The only part to be made out in Salomon's engraving is Jean Perréal and Nicolas Leclerc's earlier royal coat of arms, supported by a lion and flanked by richly dressed angels holding an inscription.[25] But to each side had been painted for the occasion the figures of Faith, sitting on clouds with a cross, and Justice, with sword and scales.[26] This provides one of the few religious elements in the iconography of the entry.

Instead, however, of decorating the gate itself as a triumphal arch, the planners decided to build a huge arch up against it, similar in style to the *portail* of Pierre-Scize but much more magnificent, with pairs of fluted Corinthian columns divided by niches containing statues, the whole topped by an inscription flanked by two more niches and a pediment covering the whole width of the arch.[27] Scève gives the dimensions of the arch as fifty feet high and forty feet deep[28] and the height of each column as twelve feet, while Conegrani specifies that the arch was built of painted wooden planks.[29] In the niches between the pairs of columns were four female statues, each with an inscription beneath. The bottom left is Bellona in armor, with one hand resting on shield and lance embellished with crescents, and the other presenting a helmet to the king; spectators might more readily recognize Minerva here,[30] or even Venus *victrix*.[31] In the niche above, counterbalancing War, was a figure of Pax, holding an olive branch in one hand and a torch in the

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[25] Pariset, "Souvenirs," 52.

[26] Standard attributes of Justice: Tervarent, col. 36–37, 156.

[27] Strong affinities with the arch in Du Choul, MS. Turin, fol. 53, showing pairs of Corinthian columns, pedestal with festoons, frieze with arabesque motifs, and a deep cornice.

[28] Confirmed by *Le grand triumphe*, fol. B3 and by Conegrani who says 20 *braccia* = 13 meters.

[29] Conegrani, fol. 239.

[30] Conegrani, fol. 239, agrees it was Bellona; but *Le grand triumphe*, fol. B3, thought it was Pallas and that the shield bore the head of Medusa; cf. Tervarent, col. 50, 62, 230.

[31] Du Choul, *Religion*, 207–8.

other with which she set fire to a pile of weapons;[32] these are standard attributes of Peace, likely to have been borrowed from Roman medals.[33] On the opposite side in the upper niche was Concordia, whose attribute was described as either a beehive[34] or a bundle of reeds,[35] with two doves kissing at her feet.[36] The fourth niche of the arch, beneath Concordia, was occupied by a figure of Victoria,[37] holding her usual attributes on coins of a palm branch and a laurel crown which she proffers to the king.[38]

Above the entablature and on each side of the main inscription were two further niches. In the left niche stood Mars, sporting sword and buckler,[39] and at his feet the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus.[40] In the right niche stood Jupiter resting on his eagle and brandishing his thunderbolt.[41] The pediment above gave opportunity for the return of Diana, her nymphs, and their hounds following their playlet at Pierre-Scize; Diana with her quiver and bow is pointing to an inscribed crescent moon;[42] the nymphs have their usual spears and horns. On top of the pediment sit three lions holding shields, the royal arms on the left, the Medici arms on the right, and a large silver crescent in the middle held by a crowned lion.[43] All these details are confirmed in Salomon's engraving, which also shows an additional detail not mentioned by Scève but confirmed by *Le grand triumphe*: under the arch hung the winged figure of *Renommée*, holding a lily in each hand, a white one for France and a red for Florence.[44] The deep coffered vault of the arch under which the king was to pass was decorated with floral motifs and grotesques, and illuminated by a large round skylight in the middle.

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[32] Confirmed by Conegrani, fol. 239r–v.

[33] Du Choul, *Religion*, 12; Tervarent, col. 171, 290.

[34] By Scève and *Le grand triumphe*: Tervarent, col. 326–28 and Chartrou, *Les entrées*, 41.

[35] By Conegrani, fol. 239v; cf. the sheaf of corn commonly associated with Concord, Tervarent, col. 199.

[36] *Le grand triumphe*, fol. B3: an attribute of Concord, Tervarent, col. 106.

[37] Or *Gloria* according to *Le grand triumphe*, fol. B3.

[38] Confirmed by Conegrani, fol. 239v; cf. Du Choul, *Religion*, 167–68; Tervarent, col. 129, 294.

[39] See Tervarent, col. 157, and Niccolò da Modena's portrait of François Ier as Mars; often portrayed on coins with *spear* and shield: see Du Choul, *Religion*, 204–5.

[40] Confirmed by Conegrani, fol. 240: these are standard symbols of Rome and Empire: see Du Choul, *Religion*, 159.

[41] Conegrani, fol. 240; attributes of Jupiter and symbols of Empire: see Tervarent, col. 4, 194.

[42] *Le grand triumphe*, fol. B3v; Conegrani, fol. 240.

[43] *Le grand triumphe*, fol. B3v; Conegrani, fol. 240.

[44] *Le grand triumphe*, fol. B3v.

iv. Trophy at the Griffon

Passing along the *rue de Bourgneuf*, the king arrived at the *Griffon*, where the planners had erected the first of two victory columns in the entry, a trophy fifty-three feet high,[45] made up of a fifteen-foot fluted Corinthian column, raised on a square pedestal and topped by a statue. The design seems to derive from one of the columns in Rome, of which Du Choul had provided a reconstruction similarly topped by a statue.[46] The shaft of the column was painted to look like porphyry, with gold in the flutings, capital, and base,[47] and halfway up was affixed a gold and silver trophy composed of a bundle of classical Roman weapons.[48] On the summit stood a statue, larger than life-size, which Scève and *Le grand triumphe* claim portrays France, but Conegrani sees as a figure of Saint-Louis.[49] The statue, dressed in royal blue with *fleurs de lys*, was in the act of placing an imperial crown upon a large capital H, the propaganda import of which was transparent, especially at a time when Philip of Spain was making his own triumphal progress across Europe to visit his ageing father.

The tall pedestal, made of wood painted to look like white marble decorated in gold—or according to Conegrani in black and white—is shown in the engraving to have a deep entablature and base, and to bear an inscription. On each side of its base were set winged statues, one of Time and one of Fame, both possibly inspired by Petrarch's *Trionfi*. Time on the left is an old bent man, grey-haired, white-bearded, holding his traditional attributes, a clepsydra[50] and a scythe;[51] on the right sat the female figure of Fame holding a long Roman *tuba*.[52] Although in the *livret* Scève later associates these statues with three short Latin inscriptions, it is clear that originally they had affixed to them a French *huitain*.[53]

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[45] Figure given by Scève and *Le grand triumphe*, fol. B3v; but Conegrani, fol. 240v, makes it much lower, 20 *braccia* or 13 meters high.

[46] Du Choul, MS. Turin, fol. 46.

[47] By contrast Conegrani, fol. 240v, asserts that the decorations were mainly in the king's colors of black and white.

[48] Conegrani, fol. 240v.

[49] Ibid., fol. 240v.

[50] Made of glass according to *Le grand triumphe*, fol. B4; cf. Scève, *Délie*, 120.6 and Tervarent, col. 329–30.

[51] Tervarent, col. 164–65.

[52] Ibid., col. 10, 387–88, usually winged; cf. Scève, *Délie*, 120.7, in association with Time and the clepsydra.

[53] See below, *Inscriptions*.

The pedestal was flanked by two wooden altars[54] in the same style, painted with lions' heads, fruit-swags, arabesques, and inscriptions; on them stood two live, beautiful Lyonnaises, dressed in similar costumes to those of Diana's nymphs,[55] wearing laurel crowns and representing Immortality and Virtue. Virtue could readily be identified by one attribute, a green palm branch[56] with golden leaves, and less easily from the other, a silver and gold fishing net, containing a haul of castles, towns, towers, crowns and scepters.[57] Immortality was more difficult to interpret: she had peacock wings[58] (not shown as such in Salomon's engraving); in one hand she held a crown of oak and laurel, and in the other a golden radiate crown; and at her feet lay a mixed pile of weapons and books. Scève translates all this as signifying that immortality could be achieved either by arms or by letters.[59] These two actresses performed a short inaudible *mystère* before the king moved on along the riverside towards the port Saint-Paul.[60]

v. Double arch of Saint-Paul

The next sites, the ports of Saint-Paul and Saint-Éloy, had been chosen because each square opened on to the river, upon which the king could see the flotilla keeping abreast of his progress. The landing-stage at Saint-Paul also offered a distant view of the confluence of Rhône and Saône,[61] which in turn provided a theme for the monument to be erected here. Although Scève describes it as a double triumphal arch, it is more properly a grotto or even a monumental fountain, made up of a double Ionic arch containing the statues of the city's two rivers, from which flowed red and white wine. A fountain flowing wine was not an uncommon feature in entries and had been used in 1533, but it is here incorporated into a gilded wooden construction of classical inspiration, made up of two coffered arches between three fluted Ionic pilasters,

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[54] Conegrani, fol. 240v; the term *arules* is used, probably suggested by Du Choul, see his later *Castrametation*, fol. 30.

[55] See below, *Mystères*.

[56] Tervarent, col. 294–95.

[57] Apparently a symbol of things temporal; details confirmed by *Le grand triumphe*, fol. B4v, and by Conegrani, fols. 240v–241.

[58] Not given by Valeriano as an attribute of immortality; the peacock was usually the symbol of Juno, marriage, or pride, cf. Tervarent, col. 297–98.

[59] Oak equals war, laurel equals letters, echoed in the arms and books; cf. A. Alciati, *Emblematum libellus* (Paris: C. Wechel, 1534), no. xli.

[60] See below, *Mystères*.

[61] Conegrani, fol. 241; cf. Joukovsky, "Lyon ville imaginaire," 1:432–39.

standing on an elaborate base imitating the bowl of a Roman fountain, and decorated with masks and festoons.[62] Conegrani mentions a lion on top of the arch, but it is not shown in Salomon's fine engraving.

Each arch was transformed into a grotto by the placement of trees and rocks, out of which came artificial birdsong, and against which leaned two half-naked reclining stucco figures, larger than life-size:[63] on the left, a somnolent woman draped in blue clutching a bundle of reeds[64] represented the slow-flowing Saône; on the right, a ferocious old man sitting upright draped in purple, his hair and long beard wet and covered with sand, his hand holding a golden tiller, represented the fast-flowing navigable Rhône.[65] As in the classical statues of Tiber and Nile in the Vatican from which these are inspired, each rested on a vase: red wine flowed from the Saône and white from the Rhône.[66] Halfway up the central pilaster was affixed an inscription, and above it a Medusa's head complete with snakes, all of whom squirted water on unsuspecting spectators in quest of a mouthful of wine. Thus we have here a neo-classical fantasy transposed into a small medieval square.[67]

vi. Arch of Honor and Virtue at Saint-Éloy

Further along the same street, in the large *place Saint-Éloy*,[68] where in 1533 a rainbow arch had been built, the 1548 planners had put up a massive triumphal arch modeled on descriptions of the lost double Temple of Honor and Virtue in Rome, and which Scève claims to be the equal in beauty of any surviving classical monument. The influence of Du Choul can again be identified in the design, since he had been interested in the Roman *Templum Honoris et Virtutis* (and was to publish a section in 1555 on its portrayal in coins), notably on the coupling in the same shrine of these two qualities:[69] like Du Choul, Scève interprets the monument as signifying that there could be no honor without virtue. This double-fronted arch, built of wood and canvas, was sixty

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[62] Conegrani, fol. 241.

[63] Ibid., fol. 241,

[64] Cf. the crown of reeds in Tervarent, col. 217–18.

[65] The tiller is standard river-god iconography, ibid., col. 204, 218; in *La Saulsaye*, it is the Saône (!) which Scève describes as an old bearded man, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. B. Guégan (Paris: Garnier frères, 1927), 177.

[66] Conegrani, fol. 241.

[67] Cf. Sharratt, "The imaginary city."

[68] This was then the center of Italian commerce in Lyon, the merchants having moved here from the *Place du Change* c. 1547.

[69] Du Choul, *Religion*, 33–34.

feet high, and filled much of the square.[70] Both facades were composed of a single arch flanked by pairs of herms supporting a pediment, above which was placed a tall, square, rusticated platform with a frieze, topped by a balustrade, and in the middle of the platform stood a gazebo. Although the monument passes for being a classical triumphal arch, there is no obvious model for a building with a platform and gazebo superimposed upon an arch, and its architectural inspiration is more akin to Renaissance attempts to reconstruct from coins the mausoleum of Hadrian: Du Choul's manuscript contains one such imaginative reconstruction, which has several stylistic analogies and may well have inspired the Lyonnais planners.[71]

The arch itself is well illustrated in Salomon's engraving, although the details do not correspond to Scève's *livret*. Scève and Conegrani claim that the herms were paired as alternately male and female,[72] but Salomon shows them as pairs of males, and as supporting slightly different inscriptions from those recorded by Scève and Conegrani. By contrast, Salomon illustrates between the pairs of herms a panel decorated with classical weapons, which the other sources do not mention. The torsos, six feet tall, were painted in bronze and gold to imitate Corinthian brass, a much-prized ancient alloy of gold, silver, and copper;[73] a gold mask hung over the navel of each; the men were crowned in oak and the women in laurel. Their heads supported an entablature bearing an inscription, upon which rested the pediment containing three figures: Honor on a throne, in Roman armor and a radiate crown,[74] flanked by the female figure of Faith and by a child representing Love, the three virtues the city is offering to the king in this monument. The group derives from a Roman relief recorded by Alciati, *Fidei symbolum*, which combines the masculine figure of *Honor*, the female *Veritas* and in the middle *Amor* as a child,[75] and was well known to two of the Lyonnais planners, Du Choul and Aneau, the latter of whom gives it the same syncretic resonance as Scève.[76]

[70] Conegrani, fol. 241r–v.

[71] Du Choul, MS. Turin, fol. 47.

[72] Conegrani, fol. 241v.

[73] Pliny, *HN.* 34.2.3.

[74] Conegrani, fol. 241v, sees it differently, as "un re assiso, che havea sulla corona un crescente di argento"; cf. Tervarent, col. 126–27.

[75] A. Alciati, *Livret des emblemes* (Paris: C. Wechel, 1542), no. xcv.

[76] Du Choul, *Religion*, 30, "Fidii simulacrum"; A. Alciati, *Emblemes*, trans. B. Aneau (Lyon: G. Roville, 1549), 28–29.

Three statues stood on bases on top of the pediment.[77] Directly above the seated figure of Honor stood Victory, with her attributes, seen earlier, of wings, a palm branch, and a laurel and oak crown which she holds out to Henri II.[78] On the left corner of the pediment stood winged Fame, looking similar to her embodiment on the trophy at the *Griffon*, but here with her trumpet to her lips; on the right stood Eternity, or Memory according to Conegrani, turning aside and writing in a book:[79] here Scève enters a plea for authors, who are able by their writings to confer immortality on mortals such as the king.

The square rusticated platform raised above the arch was embellished with a frieze: Conegrani and *Le grand triumphe* agree in defining its subject as the triumphs of Caesar,[80] which may have been the original intention of the planners, drawing upon the iconography of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* or Petrarch's *Trionfi*. However, in his *livret* Scève tries to link the frieze more closely to the dedication of the temple, and sees the northern facade as representing the triumph of Honor, and the south side the triumph of Virtue. He further specifies that the procession of Honor was made up of soldiers playing martial instruments, a chariot drawn by elephants,[81] which Salomon illustrates in his woodcut, and captives in Honor's train. The mention of elephants and the inscription, which Scève alone records, show that Scève wanted to link this triumph not with Caesar but with Alexander's campaign in India.[82] As to the frieze on the south side facing the *place du Change*, Scève describes it as showing the triumph of Virtue in her chariot drawn by two unicorns,[83] escorted by nymphs playing various instruments or bearing branches of palm, laurel, and olive.

The flat summit of the platform with its balustrade—which Scève compares to classical hanging gardens—provided a gallery from which a consort of shawm players in costumes *all'antica* could serenade the king.[84] Upon a three-stepped podium on this platform there was also erected a gazebo made up of six gilded columns eight feet high with a

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[77] Conegrani, fol. 241v.

[78] Tervarent, col. 125, 296.

[79] Ibid., col. 168, 250; Scève, *Délie*, 253.8.

[80] As stated by Conegrani, fol. 241v, and by *Le grand triumphe*, fol. C.

[81] Tervarent, col. 82–83; possibly inspired here by Petrarch's *Trionfi*, or by Alciati: see Aneau's 1549 trans., 214.

[82] See below, *Inscriptions*.

[83] Normally associated with the chariot of Chastity, Wisdom, or Love: see Tervarent, col. 84–85.

[84] Dobbins, *Music*, 1:106–8, 155.

huge silver crescent on the dome, and with each column decorated with trophies, masks, lions' heads, and festoons.[85] This gazebo appears to derive from Du Choul's reconstruction from coins in his manuscript of the circular Temple in Rome of *Mars Ultor*, which is also shown standing on a three-stepped podium.[86]

The sources give conflicting accounts of the vault decorations of the arch which the king was able to view as he passed underneath. Salomon's engraving merely shows a coffered vault; however. Conegrani specifies that the walls were painted on one side with a scene of the king's birth, and on the other his recent coronation.[87] This is contradicted by Scève, who claims that these paintings showed two allegorical scenes of combat: on the left a picture of a battle in which Honor, defeating her enemies, was preaching to her wounded troops the merits of dying for a patriotic cause, a sentiment enshrined in an inscription; on the opposite wall, with another inscription, two naked figures fighting side by side against various centaurs, satyrs, and monsters. The female figure brandishing a sword signifies Reason; the male figure with drawn bow is penetrating Sense; and their enemies symbolize Violence, Ignorance, and Bestiality.[88]

vii. Perspective at the Change

A short distance from Saint-Éloy along the *rue de Flandres* was the *place du Change*, the heart of commercial Lyon, though the Italian merchants had temporarily decamped to Saint-Éloy. Here in 1533 a huge temple had been built imitating the Roman altar of the Three Gauls, and in 1548 a less ambitious but highly original structure was placed, a painted perspective before which a *mystère* was enacted. It is not clear if this cityscape was lined up with the *rue de Flandres*, so that the procession could see it from a distance, or if it backed against the *colline de Fourvière*, and was therefore meant to be seen from the *pont de Saône*.[89] It is noteworthy that Scève concentrates entirely on the playlet and says nothing about the painted backdrop, other than that it represented the city of Troy. By contrast, Salomon provides for the album a *trompe-l'oeil* woodcut which seems inspired by Serlian illustrations of theatre

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[85] Salomon's engraving shows the gazebo as having 8–9 columns, but Conegrani, fol. 241v, says it had 7.

[86] Du Choul, MS. Turin, fol. 25; *Religion*, 207.

[87] Conegrani, fol. 241v.

[88] Cf. Tervarent, col. 64, 335–36.

[89] Sharrat, "The imaginary city."

sets: it shows a street and square lined with palaces, with a central fountain, and in the distance, just each side of center, a spire and a rotunda recalling Bramante's *tempietto*. A further link with Serlio lies in the design the architect was to submit for the new Exchange building on the site. The architecture in Salomon's woodcut does not attempt to recreate an ancient city, but reflects contemporary Florentine or Roman style: there is a strong horizontal emphasis in the three or four wide entablatures on each facade, and two palaces in the square are finished off with medieval crenellations. There is nothing here to suggest Troy.

The only immediate eye-witness account of the perspective is that of Conegrani, who gives a totally different reading of the scenery. Considering that this set was erected in the *Change*, where most of the Italian bankers and merchants had had their premises,[90] Conegrani mentions only the temple in the background which he claims was dedicated to Mercury as god of commerce, to whom the merchants made rich offerings.[91] He then mentions an important detail which no other observer records, and which is not shown in the woodcut: in front of this temple, which must have dominated the original painting more than in Salomon's later picture, sat a beautiful woman holding a large wooden multicolored plaque (we must assume that it was a real woman or a statue sitting in front of the backdrop, rather than a figure in the painting);[92] and on the plaque was a poetic inscription which explains that the woman represented Fate or Chance (*Sorte*), and that on behalf of Mercury she was promising the king good fortune and plenty.[93]

This Italian commercial slant to the perspective, appropriate to the location of the construction, is totally ignored by Scève, by Salomon, and by *Le grand triumphe*, all of whom focus on the *saynète* acted out in front of the backcloth by two actors standing on pedestals and dressed as statues, on the left Neptune with his rock, and on the right Pallas.[94]

viii. Occasio at the Grand Palais

The procession was now nearing the cathedral, and entered the *grand'rue Saint-Jean*, along which three monuments had been erected. Unlike in 1533, nothing was built at the *Petit Palais*; but in the *place du Grand Palais*, which in 1533 had been the scene of the fiery Fountain of

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[90] Conegrani, fol. 241v.
[91] Ibid., fols. 241v–242.
[92] Ibid., fol. 242.
[93] See below, *Inscriptions*.
[94] See below, *Mystères*.

Hatred, another innovative structure had been devised for 1548, made up of an apse containing a statue which all other accounts identify as Fortune[95] but which Scève calls *Occasio*. The center of the monument was an antique vase from which rose a tall Corinthian column crowned by a golden *fleur de lys*. The vase was decorated with gilded dragons, a festoon, a mask, and an inscription; the Moresque ornamentation on the column was made up of various royal devices like the crowned H and pairs of bows.[96] The eight-foot virtually naked statue of Fortune/*Occasio* stood upon her usual attribute, a wheel,[97] which was laid flat upon the vase, and she was further recognizable to readers of Dionysius Cato or Alciati from her bald head with a tuft of hair on her forehead, symbolizing the need to seize opportunity. This attribute was common to *Occasio* and Fortune, as was the veil carried by this statue.[98] She was attached to the column by a gold chain,[99] which Conegrani interprets as representing Virtue,[100] therefore symbolizing for him the subjection of Fortune to Virtue. Scève makes no such comment, but as he stresses the royal devices on the column we might see the chain as showing that Fortune was bound to favor France. This is supported by the globe held in her right hand, which she offers to the king as a token of his opportunity to win mastery of the world.[101] Conegrani observes that the statue was exceedingly lifelike, and he agrees with Scève that she was smiling, although he judges the smile to be forced, a detail confirmed by an inscription and suppressed by Scève.[102]

Scève is the only written source for the decoration of the apse behind the statue, but his text does not correspond in every detail to Salomon's woodcut. As on the arch at Saint-Éloy, the facade is made up of four herms, alternating male and female, between seven grotesque panels. These herms are male and female satyrs (seen already under the vault of the earlier arch), but here they seem to be associated less with vice than with nature and fertility: they are draped in festoons and on their heads carry baskets of flowers and fruit, a variant on the cornuco-

[95] Confirmed by *Le grand triumphe*, fol. Cv and by Conegrani, fol. 242; the city fathers also used this term: Lyon, arch. com., CC 987, no. 2; Guigue, 328; Saulnier, 1:330 & n. 27.

[96] *Le grand triumphe*, fol. Cv says "en Moresque"; *La Magnificence*, fol. G4v, calls it "damasquine." This column had been erected between 20–26 August, Guigue, 272.

[97] Tervarent, col. 325–26.

[98] Ibid., col. 265–67, 410–11.

[99] Usually an attribute of Patience: ibid., col. 173–74.

[100] Conegrani, fol. 242; this is a Renaissance commonplace, see Tervarent, col. 107.

[101] *Le grand triumphe*, fol. Cv, specifies that the globe showed Europe.

[102] Conegrani, fol. 242; see below, *Inscriptions*.

pia associated, among other things, with Fortune and *Occasio.*[103] Salomon differs from Scève in not showing festoons round the necks, and in portraying the baskets as below the cornice, while for Scève they extended above it and the frieze. Salomon also differs in his depiction of the frieze, which in his cut carries arabesque motifs, rather than the three *tondi* and the stag and deer heads mentioned by Scève: this is surprising when one considers the attention Scève devotes to each *tondo* in the frieze. On one side of the apse he describes a *tondo* showing the seated figure of Ops (or Cybele), the wife of Saturn, wearing a mural crown and holding a tree-laden mountain:[104] she clearly represents the Earth, which the accompanying inscription declares is destined to belong to Henri. On the other side is a *tondo* showing Amphitrite, wife of Neptune, sitting on a whale with a ship in her lap, pouring water from a vase:[105] she represents the sea over which an inscription again promises Henri dominion. The central *tondo* shows two goddesses seated on a globe, Prosperity (*Abundantia* or *Ubertas*) holding a cornucopia, and *Felicitas* holding a sphere.[106]

If Salomon does not show any stag heads in the frieze, he portrays the two described by Scève on the pilaster at each end of the apse; these are unusual because beneath each trophy hangs the whole skin of the stag which serves to carry inscriptions promising the king eternal fame and world empire. These decorative motifs evidently allude to Henri's love for hunting. One final difference between Scève and Salomon concerns the concluding inscription about everlasting empire, which the woodcut shows on the vase, whereas Scève claims it ran along the platform upon which the whole monument stood. Conegrani himself gives a quite different inscription, an Italian *ottava* foreseeing the return of the Age of Gold: as often, Scève has totally ignored this vernacular feature of the décor.[107]

ix. Arch at Porte-froc

Since the next monument is not mentioned in the municipal regis-

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[103] Tervarent, col. 118–19.

[104] Standard attributes: see Du Choul, *Religion*, 87–89, Tervarent, col. 129–30; as the goddess of mountains to whom the pine was sacred, Amphitrite was often associated with pine-covered Mount Ida.

[105] Transparent symbols of the sea: cf. Tervarent, col. 144, 392; Du Choul, *Religion*, 100, shows Neptune sitting on a dolphin.

[106] The cornucopia signifies abundance, and the sphere signifies that felicity will be infinite: Tervarent, col. 116–17, 361.

[107] See below, *Inscriptions*.

ters, it seems probable that it was not the responsibility of the city, but had been constructed by Ippolito d'Este and the cathedral authorities as the first of the five decorative undertakings within the cathedral precincts. In 1533 the fifteenth-century entrance to the cloisters of Saint-Jean, known as Porte-froc, had been decorated with a triumphal arch placed against the gateway. This feature was revived in 1548 when an antique portal was erected here, which Scève mentions only briefly, and which was not engraved by Salomon; however, Conegrani was impressed by it, judging it to be "un arco bellissimo et molto ben fatto." Scève and *Le grand triumphe* agree that the arch was composed of two high plinths from which sprang two pairs of columns decorated with Moresques, with grotesque panels between the columns. According to French sources, the columns supported an entablature with an arch above containing three seated figures and with a pediment above to crown it all. The figures are described by the *Le grand triumphe* as "troys personnes parlantes," which might suggest statues or even actresses; but two of them are then revealed to be "figures paintes en l'Architecture," and therefore clearly paintings. The central figure, perhaps a statue, is Religion wearing a nun's black habit; on each side of her are Faith holding a chalice and dressed in white, and Hope dressed in green: these last two are their traditional colors, echoed by Scève the poet,[108] but the combination with black allows an allusion to the colors of the king and of Catherine. In these three figures we have a rare appearance of a religious element in the iconography, appropriate to this section of the itinerary on ecclesiastical soil. In 1533 the arch had incorporated the coats of arms of the king and the queen: in 1548 again the king's arms were placed in the pediment, supported by the figures of Justice and Prudence.

We see therefore that Scève and *Le grand triumphe* concur in their description of this arch, with such similarity of wording that Scève may be thought to have borrowed his description from the earlier *bulletin*. But Conegrani confirms none of these details: he claims that the facade was painted with a map of France showing towns, rivers, mountains, and the sea. And instead of the royal arms at the top, he reports that there were the king's devices of silver crescent and a crowned H.[109] The two descriptions are hard to reconcile.

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[108] *Délie*, 254.
[109] Conegrani, fol. 242v.

x. Victory column at Saint-Jean

The Porte-froc arch led into the cathedral precinct; after dismounting to pray, the king was taken to view the massive 56-foot Doric victory column on a 25-foot pedestal which Ippolito d'Este had erected in the precinct.[110] Although Salomon's woodcut does not show this, Conegrani states it was painted with white and gold stripes, probably to imitate fluting,[111] and Scève observes that the base resting on the pedestal was decorated with gilt foliage, not shown in the woodcut. Du Choul's manuscript (fol. 46) contains a reconstruction of Trajan's Doric column on a pedestal, which may well have influenced the design, notably in the prominent capital and the foliage on the base of the column; but the tall pedestal is more reminiscent of the column of Marcus Aurelius.

The pedestal had four decorated panels, bearing an inscription on one and trophies painted to look like bronze on the other three faces. On each corner of the pedestal was a traditional medieval feature, the seated figures of the four cardinal virtues—prudence, temperance, fortitude, and justice, four female statues holding long lighted torches. On top of the prominent capital was a globe, eight feet in circumference, with land and sea picked out in gold and blue,[112] and balanced on top was a six-foot statue of Victory with wings outstretched, proffering two laurel crowns to the king.[113] Scève interprets this column as a symbol of solidity, and in particular of the durability of Henri's reputation.

Ippolito d'Este had also lavished money on the archbishop's palace, which was to be the center of the entertainments for the following week. Like Porte-froc, the doorway of the palace had been transformed into a classical portal, which, perhaps unfortunately, reiterated some of the earlier themes of the municipal section of the entry. Three figures were placed above the doorway, the central one being the eponymous lion, and on either side a male and a female fluvial god embracing each other and representing the city's two confluent rivers, with an appropriate inscription and with vases pouring water. On each side of the portal

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[110] Both measurements confirmed by *Le grand triumphe*, fol. C2; however, Conegrani, fol. 242v, gives "trenta braccia da terra" (eighteen meters or about sixty feet), which suggests that the pedestal is to be included in an overall figure of 50–56 feet.

[111] Conegrani, fol. 242v.

[112] Symbol of universal power, Tervarent, col. 199–200; misunderstood by *Le grand triumphe*, fol. C2, which calls it a "pomme de diverses couleurs."

[113] Tervarent, col. 10–11, 125; identified as an angel by *Le grand triumphe*, fol. C2, and by Conegrani, fol. 242v.

was a figure, probably painted on a flat: on one side a hieratic figure holding a church, symbolizing support for the unity of the church;[114] on the other a puzzling figure, shielding his head with his cloak, signaling silence with a finger, "en perpetuel silence et admiration de la Foy." It was perhaps unlucky for Ippolito and the chapter that just as the victory column had already been seen at the *Griffon*, so too the theme of the rivers welcoming the king had been used at the *Port Saint-Paul*, that of figures embracing had been used at Pierre-Scize, and that of the lion had featured more than once before. Similarly, the religious inspiration of the decoration of the precinct is at odds with the triumphant classicism of the rest of the entry. It may be significant that Salomon chose only to illustrate two of the five decorative initiatives undertaken by Ippolito d'Este and the canons.

The two further elements within the area of the cathedral were the interior decoration of the *Archevêché* and the *Port Saint-Jean*. Ippolito had decided to embellish the great hall inside the palace to transform it into a banqueting chamber. Conegrani merely tells us that he had added "infiniti ornamenti;" but Scève speaks of the rich tapestries with which the room was hung, of the seven chandeliers decorated with silver crescents, and more particularly of the work done to the ceiling, which was painted with the various royal monograms and devices, including bows, crescents, and the coats of arms of the king and the dauphin.

The port behind the cathedral was to serve as the chief embarkation point for the week's entertainment, and so received an appropriate facelift. We have three descriptions of this décor: Scève's *livret*, Conegrani's despatch, and Salomon's woodcut. Ippolito started from the fact that one medieval crenellated stone tower existed already, part of the defenses of the cathedral precinct and clearly seen in an illuminated manuscript of Pierre Sala.[115] He built out of wood and canvas a matching tower on the other side of the landing stage, painted to look almost identical to the original,[116] and decorated the crenellations with silver crescents. Between the towers he constructed a flight of sixteen steps leading down to the water, basing the design precisely on Serlio's description of the exedra at the Belvedere: this source would be made ever more explicit in Salomon's illustration, which reproduces the woodcut in Serlio, showing a flight of concave steps leading down to a

[114] Christian iconography seen in founders of churches.
[115] P. Sala, *Les prouesses de plusieurs Roys*, BN, *ms. fr.* 10420.
[116] Conegrani, fols. 242v–243.

flight of convex steps with a circular platform in between.[117] This parallel with the Belvedere, specifically mentioned in the Italian *livret*, is developed in the apse which Ippolito had had built behind the steps, linking together the two towers. In the Belvedere the apse contained niches in which were placed some of the finest statues of the Papal collection;[118] in Lyon the apse similarly contained four niches with statues appropriate to the waterside setting:[119] Scève mentions only Neptune holding his trident and Portumnus, the god of harbors, holding a tiller to represent navigability, but the Italian version describes them as the sea gods Glaucus and Proteus, Ino and Palaemon, the last identified with Portumnus and armed with a tiller.

The apse was divided by twelve ten-foot Doric columns supporting a Doric entablature, and pierced by three openings leading from the precinct behind (giving the appearance of a triumphal arch), each of which Salomon shows as having an arched pediment above containing a bust. Conegrani adds two final details not indicated by Scève or Salomon: that the port also boasted an historiated loggia, and that the whole décor of the port was painted in the king's colors of black and white.[120]

6. *Inscriptions*

In 1533 the Lyonnais had given the entries of the queen and the dauphin a particular antiquarian flavor, seen in the choice of monuments, in allusions to the history of Lyon, and most of all in the inclusion of Latin inscriptions in the décor: together these features attempted to recreate the atmosphere of a Roman triumph. In 1548 this antiquarian flavor and massive humanist erudition was further developed in the design of monuments; we will now see that epigraphic material simultaneously assumed such prominence as to contain much of the propaganda message of the ceremony, and to set the style for the forthcoming entries at Paris and Rouen. We can say with virtual certainty that these inscriptions were chosen or composed by the humanist triumvirate of Scève, Du Choul and Aneau, and it is worth considering from what lit-

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117 Serlio, *Il terzo libro,* cxlvii.

118 Listed in the Italian album, *La magnifica et triumphale entrata,* trans. F. M. (Lyon: G. Rouillé, 1549, 4°), fol. I [henceforth cited as F. M.].

119 Conegrani, fol. 243.

120 Ibid., fol. 243.

erary, epigraphic, and numismatic sources they drew this material, and how it underscores the message of the monuments, all of which were embellished with inscriptions. It is also striking to note which inscriptions, recorded by other sources, Scève chose to omit or replace in his final album.

The shaft of the obelisk at Pierre-Scize bore the first of many Latin inscriptions which were to mark this entry:

TOTIVS GALLIAE RESTAVRA-
TORI M. PLANCVS LVGDV-
NI RESTAVRATOR
P. C.[1]

Despite one error this text imitates the style of a Roman inscription, including the abbreviation for pro-consul, and it pretends, by a leap of one and a half millennia, to have been erected in the king's honor by L. Munatius Plancus, governor and (re)founder of Lyon. Du Choul the numismatist may be the inventor of this Lyonnais text, which is inspired not so much by the well-known inscription on Plancus' tomb at Gaeta[2] as by *denarii* issued by Plancus, as governor of Lyon, with the title *L. Munatius Plancus Pro. Cos.*, as well as by the legend on a coin of Hadrian, RESTITUTORI GALLIAE.[3] In this inscription the authors are introducing the major theme—already used in 1533—of Lyon having been a Roman colony. The modern cult of Plancus had been initiated in Basel in 1528 where a statue of him had been erected as founder both of Basel (Raurica) and Lyon, and the Lyonnais planners no doubt knew of this work. But they, by contrast, are rejecting the idea of the Romans having founded Lyon, and they limit their praise of Plancus to that of having rebuilt and restored the earlier Gaulish city, in the same way that Henri II had, by his victories, not founded France but restored her to honor. In this they are echoing the insistence of Symphorien Champier on the great antiquity of Lyon, an argument used not only against the Romans, but also against the pretensions of Paris to a degree of antiquity commensurate with her modern-day hegemony.[4]

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[1] Confirmed by Conegrani, fol. 238v, and by *Le grand triumphe*, fol. B2v, which gives the variant "Restaurator Lugduni P. C." The M given by Scève here is a mistake for L. Munatius; cf. Scève, *Délie*, 112.10; 395.1.

[2] H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones latinae selectae* (Berlin 1892–1916, or repr. Zurich, 1974), 1: no. 886.

[3] S. W. Stevenson, *A Dictionary of Roman coins, Republican and Imperial* (London: B. A. Seaby, 1964), 688.

[4] See R. A. Cooper, "Humanistes et antiquaires à Lyon," in A. Possenti and G. Mastrangeli, eds. *Il Rinascimento a Lione* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1988), 159–74.

The shape of the vertical obelisk, culminating in a crescent moon, allowed the introduction of a second theme, the fame of the king which reached the heavens: to express this, a line from the *Aeneid* was chosen, describing the infinity of Augustus' reputation and adapted here to refer to the king's name, which was represented by his monograms on the obelisk:

NOMEN QVI TERMINAT ASTRIS.[5]

The portal at Pierre-Scize was intended to proclaim the theme of the devotion of Lyon to her monarch. This theme was reinforced in the epigraphic material, made up of six inscriptions drawn from a variety of sources. As on the obelisk, the first book of the *Aeneid* was the source of an inscription on the pediment of the portal, with the speech of Aeneas, encouraging his sailors to press on from Libya to Italy, here abbreviated to

SEDES VBI FATA QVIETAS,[6]

thereby comparing Henri's tour to the journey of Aeneas, and Lyon to Rome. The Mantuan ambassador Conegrani confirms the adapted Virgilian text, but he also records an additional Italian inscription which ran around the woman holding the lion (therefore representing the city):

> Era scritto al disotto di esse "Sedes ubi fata quietas," et all'intorno della dal leone versi di questo soggetto:
>
> Hor chi potrebbe mai
> Narrar, scriver, pensare
> Colla lingua, la puenna o con la mente,
> Quanto contenta vai
> Donna, puoi che d'intrare
> Non s'è sdegnato in te il nobil crescente;
> Qual spirto homai, qual animal, qual gente
> Fia di te più felice?
> Qual altra alma radice
> Abbellirà giardino
> Ch'al tuo sacro divino,
> Sicuro già da fulmini et tempeste,
> Non dia l'honor e l'ubbidienza preste.
> Felice te per tanti frutti tui
> Ma molto più che se' piacciuta a lui.[7]

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[5] Virgil, *Aen.* 1.286–88; text confirmed by *Le grand triumphe,* fol. B2v, and Conegrani, fol. 238v.

[6] *Aen.* 1.204–6.

[7] Conegrani, fol. 239.

It is clear that, like several later monuments, this portal originally bore a poem in the vernacular extolling the delight and good fortune of the lion/Lyon at finding favor with the king. While it is not impossible that we have here a translation of an earlier French poem, and that Conegrani had a skilled poet on his staff, the complicated patterns of rhyme and rhythm in the Italian give the impression of a finished work. In either case, Scève clearly seeks in his album to suppress the original vernacular elements of the entry; is he perhaps also suppressing contributions from the Italian community in the city? We will examine more examples shortly.

The variety of inscriptions on the portal of Pierre-Scize is seen in the fact that they were not only drawn from Virgil but also from Roman coins. Thus one scroll beside the pediment bore the words:

TVAE SECVRITAS REIP.

adapted from the standard legend SECVRITAS REIP. on late Imperial coins,[8] to associate the state more closely here with the monarch, and possibly echo the presence of a statue of *Sicurtà* on the first arch in the 1539 Florentine entry of Eleanor of Toledo, which the Lyonnais planners used extensively.[9] However, the inscription on the other scroll:

CVI FIDES ET AMOR OBEDIVNT,

does not come from any coin, nor indeed from a direct classical source or from the Vulgate: it seems to be an effort of the organizers in search of a formula linking the figures of Fidelity and Obedience on the monument, while echoing the polyglot inscription about *Fides et Amor* in the 1533 entry.[10]

On the two pedestals we have a couplet, also probably composed by the planners themselves, with one line on each pedestal:

SALVE O REX FOELIX QVI NOSTRA AD LIMINA TENDIS
VISVRVS FIDAMQ. DOMVM, FIDOSQ. PENATES.

This is cobbled together from a Virgilian echo in the first line,[11] and a phrase from Ovid in the second.[12] It would appear from *Le grand triumphe*, however, that this was not the inscription as written at the time,

[8] Stevenson, *Dictionary*, 727–28.

[9] P. F. Giambullari, *Apparato et feste nell nozze dello illustrissimo Signor Duca di Firenze et della Duchessa sua Consorte* (Florence: B. Giunta, 1539, 8°), 7 [henceforth cited as Giambullari]; there is an annotated translation by A. C. Minor & B. Mitchell, *A Renaissance entertainment* (Columbia: Univ. of Missouri Press, 1968).

[10] *L'entree de la Royne*, fol. Biii.

[11] *Aen.* 2.321.

[12] Ovid, *Fasti* 4.8–9; 6.529.

but that it was altered for Scève's album; the original text on the pedestals was the hexameter:

HIC TIBI FIDA DOMUS, FIDI HIC SUBESTE PENATES;[13]

but in writing it up afterwards Scève seems to have thought of a grander and more allusive rendering of the same theme of Lyon as the king's true home.

On the reverse of the arch, to accompany the painted relief of Androcles and the lion, by which the city invoked the king's generosity towards herself as the eponymous lion, the planners choose a moral motto to underscore the message:

GENEROSE PIO GENEROSA PIETAS.

Although PIETAS is a common legend on coins,[14] there seems to be no direct source of this carefully constructed inscription, analogous in style to that on the trophy at the *Griffon.* Here the king is invited to return the city's devotion and lavish expenditure on his entry with generous favor, no doubt by the confirmation of the traditional privileges and in the alleviation of recent burdensome taxes.

Though the portal of Pierre-Scize bore six inscriptions, the arch at Bourgneuf surpassed it, sporting no less than ten. As the first main gate of Lyon, and the point where Henri was welcomed by the city fathers, this triumphal arch was the place for the main message of welcome, very loosely imitating that inscribed on Roman arches. This principal inscription is given by Scève as reading:

INGREDERE HENRICE INGREDERE FRANCORVM REX CHRISTIANISS. VRBEM TVAM ANTIQVAM ROMANORVM COLONIAM VT DEVOTISS. CIVIBVS TVIS SECVRITATEM REIP. PRAESTAS AETERNAM.

This text is broadly confirmed by Conegrani and by *Le grand triumphe*,[15] who also add ATQUE INVICTISS. after CHRISTIANISS., while Salomon's engraving shows more use of abbreviations. The inscription is not, however, original to Lyon, but has been rather crudely adapted from the 1539 Florentine entry, where on the first arch, to welcome the new duchess, was written:

INGREDERE INGREDERE FOELICISS. AVSPICIIS VRBEM TVAM HELIONORA AC OPTIMAE PROLIS FOECVNDA ITA DOMI SIMILEM PATRI FORIS AVO SOBOLEM PRODVCAS VT

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[13] *Le grand triumphe*, fols. 2v–3.

[14] Stevenson, *Dictionary*, 626–27.

[15] *Le grand triumphe*, fol. B3, also gives variant PRAESTES.

MEDICEO NOMINI EIVSQUE DEVOTISS. CIVIBVS SECVRITATEM PRAESTES AETERNAM.[16]

Scève and his two colleagues have simply replaced Eleanor by Henri, excised the central allusion to fecundity and to the Medici, and inserted the usual refrain of Lyon as a Roman colony. The plagiarism, as well as the irony of recycling Medici propaganda, cannot have been lost on the readers of the Italian edition of the album.

The rest of the decoration of the arch is made up of statues accompanied by appropriate inscriptions, an arrangement common to the rest of the entry. To each side of this main inscription were the figures of Mars and Jupiter, which introduce the themes of conquest and world empire. Under Mars is the Virgilian inscription:

ET REGERE IMPERIO, DABITVRQ. DOMARE SUPERBOS,

taken from the speech in the underworld of Anchises to Aeneas, prophesying the reign of Augustus, but here given a more warlike twist by the suppression of original allusions to peace and to clemency.[17] The figure of Jupiter is accompanied by another Virgilian line:

QVOS EGO SVB TERRAS, ADIGAMQ. HOC FVLMINE AD VMBRAS.

which bears witness to the resourcefulness of the Lyonnais humanists. Taken from the mouth of conscience-stricken Dido, who, recognizing the rekindling of an old flame, called upon Jupiter to strike her down with his thunderbolt,[18] this line has here been cleansed of guilt and given the wholly positive sense of Jupiter assisting Henri by punishing his enemies.

In the tympanum sat Diana holding a crescent moon bearing the words:

LVMEN AETERNVM,

in which an Ovidian echo is put to good use as flattery of the newly elevated duchesse de Valentinois.[19]

The theme of welcome in the main inscription was picked up in another couplet, split across the two pedestals as at Pierre-Scize, expressing the city's joy at Henri's arrival:

HOC QVONIAM NON ES VERITVS CONCREDERE NOBIS
ACCIPE COMMVNIS MVNERA LAETITIAE.[20]

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[16] Giambullari, 10.

[17] *Aen.* 6.851–53.

[18] *Aen.* 4.25.

[19] Ovid, *Met.* 3.334–35.

[20] Conegrani, fol. 240, only gives the first line, with the mistaken emendation *congredere*.

Here the triumvirate have turned to Propertius for inspiration, making only two minor changes, *hoc* for *sed*, and *communis* for *commissae.*[21] However, they have drawn from an almost comically inappropriate text, in which Propertius sent Gallus a poem as thanks for having been granted the favor of spying on Gallus' passionate lovemaking with Cynthia: had Henri II had his Propertius at his fingertips, he might have felt less than flattered at having addressed to him the sentiments of a voyeur.

The rest of the decoration is made up of four statues of Bellona, Victoria, Pax, and Concordia, accompanied by appropriate inscriptions. However, neither Conegrani nor *Le grand triumphe* mention these inscriptions; indeed, Conegrani suggests that it was the inscription beginning HOC QUONIAM ... which was written under the statues. It would appear that the inscriptions are embellishments added later by Scève for the benefit of the readers of his album, and more significantly, as substitutes for original vernacular poems. Conegrani clearly states that each statue was accompanied by a quatrain in French, not Latin, which he preserves in rhymed Italian translation.

Scève insists that Bellona was accompanied by an apparently original Latin hexameter asserting that this goddess was devoted to Henri's cause:

QVAE TIBI IAM SOCIA EST, TIBI NON BELLONA TIMOREM INCVTIET.

However, the original French poem bore only indirect relation to Scève's later motto, exalting instead the royal symbol of the crescent which Diana bore in the tympanum above, and which Bellona takes as her own emblem as well:

A Bellona.
Nè l'esser Dea, nè di Dio figlia, e a Dio
Congionta mi dà nome infra la gente,
Ma questa insegna qui del bel crescente
Fa palese ad ogniun l'imperio mio.

In the iconographic schema finally adopted by Scève for his album, Victory follows War, as witnessed in the statue of Victoria in the corresponding niche on the right, holding out a palm and a laurel crown, as on innumerable coins,[22] and accompanied by the rather unimaginative inscription:

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[21] Propertius, 1.10.11–12.
[22] Stevenson, *Dictionary*, 865–75.

CEDETQ. TIBI VICTORIA PALMAM.
However, the original French poem picked up the theme of the garden from the poem on the preceeding portal, and specifies that the statue was offering him fronds of *both* palm and laurel, the second of which is lost in Scève's new text:

Alla vittoria.
Dal bel giardin dei Dei ti porto, Henrico,
Palma, che verde ti fia sempre in mano,
E lauro, puoi che in questo campo aprico
Ti promette lo imperio d'ogni humano.[23]

Scève shows Victory ushering in Peace, represented in the top left niche by a statue of Pax with the elaborately constructed and apparently original hexameter:
SEV PACEM TERRIS, SECVRE AVT VIVERE CVRES.
which makes use of wordplay on *seu ... cures* and *secure.* But the original quatrain had been more relevant to the iconography, alluding to the image of the crescent moon, here seen as reflecting the light of the Henrician sun and overcoming dissension:

Alla pace.
Co'l lume di costui che mi dà il fuoco,
Et preso in un l'orgoglio et il furore,
Levarò homai dal mondo ogni Rancore
Che con tal scorta havrò per tutto loco.

Finally, for Scève, from Peace will flow Concord, whose statue is identified by her attributes and by the hexameter:
CONCORDES ANIMOS, FOELICIA REGNA VIDEBIS,
including an appropriate Virgilian echo about the reconciliation of inveterate enemies like Caesar and Pompey, and a phrase from Valerius Flaccus.[24] But the original piece on Concordia again derived from the statuary, alluding to the goddess's attribute of a bundle of reeds (which is not described by Scève):

Alla concordia.
Vedete stretti in uno amor' e fede,
Pace, tranquilità, fama e quiete,

[23] Conegrani, fol. 240.
[24] *Aen.* 6.827; cf. the line from Pontano in J. Chichon, *De adeptione regni et coronatione Henrici secundi* (Paris: M. David, 1547), 61; Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica* 6.138.

Che dall'empireo al gran fiume di Lethe
Fan gloriosa e eterna la sua sede.

The reeds represent the binding together of certain qualities already evoked in the inscriptions of the monuments: Fame on the obelisk, and Faith, Love, and *Quietas* at Pierre-Scize. The last two lines pick up the Virgilian echo at Pierre-Scize about the king's *sedes*. The pieces for Pax and Concordia also remind the observer of the iconography of the obelisk, where the king is seen as victorious over Discord and Furies. We are again left with the question, why did Scève suppress poems which were well integrated with the iconographical program and replace them with more neutral pieces?

The medieval gate of Bourgneuf bore the city's arms and its traditional motto of

VN DIEU, VN ROY, VNE LOY.

It seems likely that the figures of Faith and Justice, painted on each side of the gate, together with their inscriptions

IN FIDE / ET IVSTITIA,

were added for the entry.

We have seen that the trophy at the *Griffon* was decorated with symbols of Victory and of Fame. The pedestal bore a general chiastic inscription expressing delight, on behalf of the whole of France, at the king's accession, and exploiting both senses of *foelix*, happy and fortunate:

SVO REGI FOELICISS. FOELICISS. GALLIA.[25]

On the base beneath the pedestal was a highly appropriate text, adapted from the prayer of Aeneas invoking the favor of the Tiber, but already used in the 1539 Florentine entry:

SEMPER HONORE MEO SEMPER CELEBRARE DONIS.[26]

However, as for the statues seated on each side of the pedestal, representing Time and Fame, we have conflicting evidence about the accompanying inscriptions. Scève records two further Virgilian lines which embellished these statues. Time has the verse:

HVIC EGO NEC METAS RERVM NEC TEMPORA PONO,[27]

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[25] Scève's text has a misprint here, corrected by F. M., the second FOELICISS having only one S; *Le grand triumphe*, fol. B4, expands the abbreviations.

[26] *Aen.* 8.76: "semper honore meo, semper celebrabere donis;" in Paradin's 1573 reprint of the entry, 337, he restored the original "celebrabere;" which had earlier been respected in Florence: see Giambullari, p. 26, where the text referred to Leo X.

[27] Scève's text has the misprint ERGO, which is corrected by F. M., who also changes the first NEC to NON.

adapted from Jupiter's speech to Venus promising that no bounds will be set on the empire of Romulus, with the substitution of the singular for Henri.[28] Fame's inscription reads:

VNVM QVEM VIDEO FAMA SVPER AETHERA NOTVM.

adapted from the words of Aeneas to Venus identifying himself and his destination,[29] thereby continuing the identification of the itinerant Henri with Aeneas in quest of empire.

However, as in the case of the earlier arch, we discover from the Mantuan ambassador that these are later additions by Scève, and that the statues were originally accompanied by a *huitain* in French, of which we have an Italian translation:

Non potrà mai drizzar si longe il volo
Questo empio sprezzator delle opre sante
Col cercar' de te po' fra l'altro stuolo
Che ver(?) l'oblio ha si veloci piante,
Che questa qui, data sola a te solo,
Non renda le opre sue debili e frante,
Et per le aurate et eterne alli sue
Non fian più che immortali le opre tue.[30]

The planners had originally sought, therefore, to link the two statues, demonstrating how Fame was able to overcome Time and confer Immortality on the king's deeds. Scève has clearly gone for brevity and for an extension of Virgilian imperial associations.

The statues of Virtue and Immortality, standing on bases on either side of the trophy, each bear further poetic ornament. The figure of Virtue, seen capturing crowns and cities, introduces the line given by Scève and *Le grand triumphe* as:

FIANT VT MERITIS REGNA MINORA TVIS.[31]

a phrase adapted from Ovid[32] that foresees Henri's haul of lesser kingdoms. On the pedestal of Virtue's companion Immortality, seen associated with arms and letters, is the following line:

AVREA IAM PROPERAT LVSTRIS LABENTIBVS AETAS,

which is clearly adapted from the opening of Jupiter's vision of the con-

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[28] *Aen.* 1.278.

[29] *Aen.* 1.378–79.

[30] Conegrani, fol. 240v.

[31] Conegrani, fol. 240v, gives an unacceptable variant reading: FIENT ET MERITIS SCEPTRA MINORA TUIS.

[32] Ovid, *Her.* 11.16; Ovid, *Fasti* 4.92; Ovid, *Epic. Drusi* 56; Ovid, *Tr.* 1.6.30.

quest of Greece by the Trojan/Romans, and suggests here that the reign of Henri was ushering in the new Age of Gold.[33] It seems possible that on the day of the entry the two inscriptions were arranged differently: either placed on the opposite statue, as Conegrani says, or placed as a couplet on each, as shown in *Le grand triumphe*.[34] A second, apparently original, inscription written on the small altar against which Immortality is leaning, reads:

SOLA VIRTVS IMMORTALITATE DIGNA.[35]

thereby bringing together the messages of the two statues and reiterating the message of the original French poem: Henri's virtue will earn him immortality.

The double arch at the *Port Saint-Paul*, which introduced the theme of the two rivers of the city welcoming the king, was painted with an appropriate inscription:

TANTVM NATVRAE BENEFICIVM
ARARIS ET RHODANI FOELICI-
TER CONFLVENTIVM PER-
PETVAM TIBI TVISQVE.
SPONDET VBER-
TATEM.

This inscription is inspired by the memory of the *Ara Romae et Augusti*, built at the confluence of the rivers and commemorated in inscriptions such as the one known to Lyonnais humanists in the church of Saint-Pierre-les-Nonnains.[36] This promise of abundance, which was to be copied and developed in the Paris entry,[37] would also be echoed in the image of Prosperity at the Grand Palais. Conegrani records here a different inscription, the one which Scève places on the portal of the *Archevêché*, where the motif of the two rivers was again used;[38] however, since Scève's text is confirmed by *Le grand triumphe*, we may wish to follow his order in this case.

The grand arch/temple at Saint-Éloy, dedicated to Honor and Virtue, bore five inscriptions. The text of the inscription set below the four

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[33] *Aen.* 1.283.

[34] Conegrani, fol. 241; *Le grand triumphe*, fol. B4.

[35] *Le grand triumphe*, fol. B4, variant: VIRTUTE.

[36] *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin: Deutsche Akademie der Wissernschaften, 1863–), 13:1674, including the phrase: AD ARAM AD CONFLUENTES ARARIS ET RHODANI.

[37] See below, *The Afterglow*.

[38] Conegrani, fol. 241.

herms identified the dedicatees of the temple: according to Scève it bore the words HONORI PERPETVO under the men, and VIRTVTI AETERNAE under the women. However, the engraving of Salomon does not support Scève here, showing the garbled text:

PERPETVO HONORI VIRTVTI PARPETVS,

with one word under each herm reading from the left. The dispatch of Conegrani gives yet a third text, claiming that the inscriptions, written above and not below the herms, read:

HONORI PERPETUO FOELICITATI AETERNAE.[39]

Without corroboration it is difficult to establish the original text, although Conegrani's introduction of *foelicitas* seems aberrant; nor are we helped by the knowledge that there exist precedents on coins of *both* legends, VIRT. AETER. and VIRT. PERP;[40] however, it is clear that the planners intended here to imitate the style of a legend from coins.

There is less disagreement about the main inscription along the frieze, which echoes that associated with the herms, and unlike so many other literary reminiscences, attempts to imitate Latin epigraphic style:

HONORIS VIRTVTISQ. PERPETVAE HENRICO PRINC. INVICTISS. SACRVM D. D.[41]

Scève records two further inscriptions, which are not confirmed by other sources and are probably additions for the printed version. Of all the witnesses only he describes below the architrave of the central platform the line:

TERRA TVOS ETIAM MIRABITVR INDA TRIVMPHOS,

which accompanied the frieze of the triumph of Honor complete with elephants. The inscription itself has been adapted from Ovid's assimilation of the conquest of India by Bacchus to that by Alexander,[42] but without any of Ovid's parodic implications, limiting itself here to a comparison between the young Henri and all-conquering Alexander, and replacing the original association with Caesar preserved in other accounts. This inscription is matched for the scene of the triumph of Virtue with another hexameter about Henri's monopoly of honors, for which there is no apparent source and which is preserved only by Scève:

EN TIBI QVOS NEC HABENT ALII VIRTVTIS HONORES.[43]

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[39] Ibid., fol. 241v.

[40] Stevenson, *Dictionary*, 879–80, 888.

[41] Substantially confirmed by Conegrani and by *Le grand triumphe*; F. M. gives the variant HONORI.

[42] *Fasti*, 3.720.

[43] F. M. amends QUOS to QUOD.

Scève is the sole recorder of not only the topmost inscriptions of the monument, but also the one painted under the vault of the arch, which is presented as a sentiment addressed by Honor to her troops:

PRO ARIS ET FOCIS SVB PRINCI-
PE GLORIOSE OCCVMBERE PRO
PATRIA VIVERE EST.

This seems to be a patchwork of the Horatian remark about dying for one's country,[44] with the addition of the standard phrases "pro aris et focis"[45] and constructions with *occumbere*.[46] Although the context is a general moral one, it cannot be divorced from the call to defense of the frontiers of France which is implicit in the whole entry, and which alludes most directly to the king's recent visit to the new territories in Piedmont. On the opposite wall, underneath the defeated enemies of Reason and Sense, was written the sentiment, used elsewhere as a heraldic motto:

NON VI SED VIRTVTE,[47]

which returns us to the moral plane, but contrasts oddly with the patriotic call to arms immediately preceeding. The connection must be that the defense of one's country is morally justified, and is not simply the use of brute force.

The perspective of Troy/Athens placed at the Change was not adorned with any inscription, according to Scève. And yet Conegrani's description reveals that Scève has here suppressed an earlier text, which originally gave a different meaning and emphasis from the one his album later sought to bring out. Conegrani records a plaque bearing a poem put into the mouth of *Sorte* who is sitting outside the temple of Mercury:

> Nanti alla porta di detto tempio vi sedeva una bella donna et molto altamente vestita, che tenea in mano una tavoletta d'assi de vari et quasi infiniti colori, et sopra di essa versi di cottal sogget-to:
>
> Sorte son io, mandata a te dal Dio
>   Che in questo tempio vedi,

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[44] Horace, *Od.* 3.2.13.

[45] Livy 5.30.1; 10.44.8; Sallust 59.5; for echoes in emblems see A. Henkel & A. Schöne, *Emblemata* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1967) 1:823, 829.

[46] Cicero, *Tusc.* 1.42.102; Pliny, *HN* 7.151.

[47] E.g., Henkel & Schöne, *Emblemata*, 1:604.

Per star sott'l bel regno che possiedi.
Lo ingannar altri è mio
Costume, altri arrichir, ad altri i piedi
Por sopra lo acquistato, alcun morire
Faccio di doglia, e alcuno
Viver contra'l desio e creder d'ogn'uno.
A te vengo offerire
Lo assentio e'l mel, perché di questo privi
Il regno, e'n questo fortunato vivi.[48]

Unlike earlier cases, where Conegrani specifically states that the text was in French, here he does not specify the original language. Factors which might sway our judgment in favor of Italian are once again the complicated rhyme scheme, and the fact that this perspective is situated in the center of the Italian commercial quarter and is concerned with commerce and banking. The theme is a colorful one: Mercury has determined that Fate or Chance, normally unpredictable in her favors, shall espouse the cause of Henri; she brings him two gifts, wormwood and honey, alluding to the classical drink in which the wormwood flavor was masked by honey.[49] But here the offerings are symbolic, tokens of Henri's freeing of France from bitterness and bringing prosperity. It might be felt that although in stylistic uniformity Scève's album gains from the suppression of such poems and their replacement with Virgilian or numismatic echoes, nonetheless some of the richness of the original festival has been sacrificed.

At the Grand Palais the composition containing the figure of *Occasio* also bore a number of inscriptions. Scève describes the key text as the one written along the base, which Salomon shows rather as painted on the vase:

IMPERIVM SINE FINE DEDI.

This is, of course, another quotation from the *Aeneid*,[50] from the same speech of Jupiter to Venus foreseeing the limitless empire of Rome and following directly from the line placed under Time at the *Griffon*. This had become a popular tag in the Renaissance, as witness its use in papal propaganda,[51] but its appearance here seems to have been suggested by the 1539 Florence festivity; in Lyon it is used to reinforce the theme of

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48 Conegrani, f° 242.
49 Quintilian, *Inst.* 3.1.5.
50 *Aen.* 1.279.
51 Henkel & Schöne, *Emblemata*, 1:1335.

universal monarchy destined to Henri II, while promised in Florence to Charles V.[52] The same speech of Jupiter also provides one of the inscriptions on the pilasters, painted on the skin of a stag, announcing:

MANENT IMMOTA TVORVM FATA TIBI.

This comes from twenty lines earlier in the text, where Venus is reassured about the destiny of Aeneas and his followers:[53] the fates are seen here to hold in store similar favor for Henri. The matching sentence on the right pilaster also derives from Virgil, but has been given a much more positive twist:

IMPERII SPES ALTA FVTVRI.

This derives from a phrase in the speech of Evander invoking the protection of Jupiter on his son Pallas, "dum spes incerta futuri,"[54] but is here ingeniously adapted to express the confidence of the king's people in his good fortune.

Although not visible in the engraving, the three *tondi* or medallions in the frieze were also inscribed in imitation of coins, and they continue the theme of universal monarchy. The medallion portraying Ops and representing the earth was inscribed with an apparently original legend:

HANC TIBI IVRARVNT SVPERI,

embodying the sentiment that Henri's conquests were destined to embrace the whole world. This optimism extends to the sea, represented in the second medallion by Amphitrite, and confirmed in the legend:

QVASCVNQ. PER VNDAS,

adapted from Valerius Flaccus to indicate that Henri's fleet would be master of the seas, although the original context of the desperate flight of Medea has been set aside.[55] The third medallion, showing Prosperity and Felicity, returns to Virgil for its motto, with the phrase:

VLTRA ANNI SOLISQ. VIAS.

borrowed from the visit of Aeneas and Anchises to Hades, where it is promised that the empire of Augustus, and thus that of Henri, will extend beyond time and space.[56]

Despite this wealth of epigraphic sentiment, Scève again suppressed a poem, which was part of the original decor, and which gave a different slant to the iconography. We only have the Italian text, in polished

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[52] Giambullari, 26.

[53] *Aen.*1.257; confirmed by *Le grand triumphe*, fol. Cv; further adapted in the 1600 Lyon entry of Maria de' Medici as "Fructus spes certa futuri."

[54] *Aen.* 8.580; text confirmed by *Le grand triumphe*, fol. Cv.

[55] *Argonautica* 8.4

[56] *Aen.* 6.796.

style, and once again we are in doubt whether the piece derives from an original French *huitain*. On a tablet beside *Occasio/Fortuna* was written:

> Homai sforciata e pur contenta e pure
> Allegra, eccoti il mondo,
> Che ben dovuto a te ti porgo, Henrico.
> Per te tranquille e per te fian sicure
> Le onde fin sotto'l fondo,
> E per te pace al universo iudico,
> Che, banditi odio e risse e crudeltade,
> Riman teco in suo loco l'aurea etade.[57]

Scève had made no mention of the forced expression of Fortune's face, who finds herself constrained to do the bidding of Henri (as further seen in the chain which binds her). This *ottava* gives meaning to the medallions representing Earth and Sea, and reintroduces the theme of Henri's empire bringing back the Age of Gold, seen earlier in the trophy at the *Griffon*. This is another example of Scève's reduction of the thematic resonance of the entry.

The constructions erected by Ippolito d'Este and the chapter around the cathedral were also embellished with inscriptions. The pedestal of the trophy in the cloisters, dedicated to the future victories of the king, bore the decidedly unimaginative and unclassical text:

HENRICI FRANC. REGIS
VICTORIAE AC VIRTVTI-
BVS INDELEBILITER.[58]

We note that the city had beaten Ippolito to the themes of both victory and virtue; here he has been caught out using a post-classical term in the word *indelebiliter.* The doorway of the *Archevêché* also repeated an earlier theme in sporting statues of the two rivers and expressing their combined joy in the inscription placed here by Scève and *Le grand triumphe*:

OB ADVENTVM HENRICI OPT. PRINC. VOTIS ANTEA EXPETITVM RHODANVS ATQVE ARARIS GRATVLANTVR.[59]

Conegrani is probably mistaken in placing this inscription earlier, at the *Port Saint-Paul*, where there was another similar text about rivers. This theme of the joyful confluence of the rivers had already been explored

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[57] Conegrani, fol. 242r–v.

[58] Text confirmed by *Le grand triumphe*, fol. C2.

[59] *Le grand triumphe*, fol. C2, gives two variant abbreviations: PRINCIPIS, ARAR; Conegrani, fol. 241, gives these variants: HEN. OPT. PRIN., ARRARIS UNA CONFLUENTES GRATULLANTUR; F. M. omits PRINC.

by Scève in his poetry, where the fast-flowing male Rhône is seen to embrace his bride, the languid feminine Saône.[60]

This collection of inscriptions is a curious mixture. Only rarely is there any attempt to imitate the style of actual Roman inscriptions; there is some use of the form of numismatic legends; a number of the texts have also been made up by the planners and put into metric form. But the great majority of these sentiments are adapted from literary rather than epigraphic sources, with a clear predominance for texts from Vergil, and in his album Scève has rewritten several texts and suppressed numerous others.

7. *Mystères*

It had been traditional in earlier entries, such as that of 1515, to have a series of playlets or *mystères* performed at certain points along the triumphal route where *estrades* had been specially constructed.[1] Although this entry reveals a marked desire to break away from established formulae, some isolated theatrical elements are retained in the form of short *saynètes*, which continue the shift away from religious subjects to classical and allegorical themes. The advantage of retaining these theatrical interludes, apart from one of variety of spectacle and a prominent role for some of the citizenry of Lyon,[2] was flexibility, in that a change of script, together with a change in the colors of some costumes, was the only variation that could readily and cheaply be introduced between the king's entry and that of the queen on the following day. The preparation of these performances was one of earliest elements of the festival to be organized.[3]

Among the traditional settings for these playlets was a garden;[4] it was also customary to proclaim the city's devotion to the king by the presentation of the keys. Of the *saynètes* retained for the 1548 entry, the first involved a piece with an Arcadian setting, intended at one stroke to flatter Diane de Poitiers and to replace the ceremony of the keys.[5] The last royal entry to Lyon, that of Eléonore in 1533, offered the model, a

[60] *Délie*, 17.7, 346.9, 395.1, 396.5–8, 417.

[1] See Chartrou, *Les entrées*, 20–29; Guénée & Lehoux, *Entrées*, 12–13, 26–29.

[2] See McAllister Johnson, "Essai de critique interne," 3: 191.

[3] Guigue, 160–61.

[4] Chartrou, *Les entrées*, 33–34.

[5] Confirmed explicitly by *Le grand triumphe*, fol. B2, which speaks of "la prefiguration du presentement des Clefz."

playlet performed within the city walls in which Diana the huntress and her nymphs offered obedience to the queen.[6] The planners resolved to move the set outside the walls and to exploit the lower slopes of the hill on which stood the *Château de Pierre-Scize* to create a grove in which Diana and her nymphs could be seen hunting.[7] Numerous burghers convincingly disguised as deer,[8] together with some examples of the genuine article,[9] frisked among newly planted trees and shrubs.[10] Three ladies of Lyon had taken the female lead roles,[11] attired in costumes described as *all'antica*, but in fact representing the fashion seen in paintings of the first School of Fontainebleau rather than accurate copies of classical dress: Scève takes as much delight in describing the detail of their dress as he had for that of the participants in the parade, whereas neither Conegrani nor the *Le grand triumphe* share his enthusiasm. Not surprisingly, Diana wore the king's colors of black and silver, to which she had added crimson satin for her sleeves and boots; she and her companions sported *coiffures* laden with precious metals and stones, and they carried spears and hunting horns trimmed in the king's colors. As the royal party passed, the animals promptly allowed themselves to be captured and brought before the king, Diana herself bagging an actor dressed as a lion,[12] whom she presented to the king with poetic accompaniment as a symbol of the obeisance to Henri II of the lion/Lyon.[13]

We have two different accounts of the poetic utterance of Diana to the king. The text recorded by Scève is a *dizain*, for which contemporary confirmation is to be found in the bulletin *Le grand triumphe*, with two slight variants[14] which may indicate that Scève polished up for the printed version what was no doubt his own composition:[15]

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[6] J. de Vauzelles, *L'entree de la Royne faicte en l'antique et noble cité de Lyon l'an Mil cinq cens trente et troys, le xxvii de may* (Lyon: J. Crespin, 1533), fols. Cii–Ciii [henceforth cited as *L'entree de la Royne*].

[7] See F. Bardon, *Diane de Poitiers et le mythe de Diane* (Paris: P. U. F., 1963), 40–50.

[8] Conegrani, fol. 238.

[9] The archives record that on 14 Sept. a real stag and doe, together with various dogs, had been ordered for this playlet: Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fol. 252v; Guigue, 180–81.

[10] Lyon, arch. com., CC 980, no. 15; 982, nos. 38–39; 987, no. 4; Guigue, 301, 365–66.

[11] Diane was played by the niece of the diarist Jean Guiraud; her nymphs were the daughters of le Grant André and of Jacques de Brepio; the latter was responsible for some of the street decorations: Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fol. 243v; CC 987, no. 2; Guigue, 172, 326; cf. Brantôme, *Oeuvres*, 9:320–21.

[12] Richard Buant, one of the painters: Lyon, arch. com., CC 980, no. 15; Guigue, 301. Misled by Scève's text, Brantôme, *Oeuvres*, 9:320 appears to think it was a real lion.

[13] Conegrani, fol. 238.

[14] *Le grand triumphe*, f° B2, gives variants for line 6: "rendre icy en vostre bande;" and for line 8: "& ses gestes humains."

[15] The terms *usitee, exercite, incitee* all appear in the *Delie;* but J. L. Gerig, "Barthélémy

Le grand plaisir de la chasse usitee,
Auquel par montz, valees et campaignes
Ie m'exercite, avecques mes compaignes,
Iusqu'en voz boys, Sire, m'ha incitee:
Où ce Lion, d'amour inusitee,
S'est venu rendre en ceste nostre bande,
Lequel soubdain à sa privauté grande
I'ay recongneu, et aux gestes humains,
Estre tout vostre. Aussi entre voz mains
Ie le remetz et le vous recommande.

In this rather uncomplicated text Diana lays stress on the devotion of the city to Henri, as exemplified by the tameness of the lion. However, Conegrani, another eye-witness, gives a different text, which he has admittedly had translated from the French,[16] and has had put into sonnet form, but which cannot derive from the same poem, dealing as it does with the divine mission of Henri to rule the nations, leading to his eventual immortalization:

O Aspettato et o chiamato spesso
    Dai Dei là in cielo, e da noi quà giù in terra,
    Et o temuto ugualmente sotterra
    Da chi, sprezzando Dio, perdè se stesso.
Da chi fe' i regni a governarli messo,
    Non per tenerli in sempiterna guerra,
    Ma perchè conosciuto da ogn'un ch'erra,
    Fia il suo falir' in tua bontà rimesso.
Per le selve anco e per antri e per dumi
    Si estende il scettro tuo, sappiamolo noi,
    E per te incensi s'apparechia e doni.
Teco perciò lassati i sacri lumi
    Viverò sempre e fra mille altri heroi
    Ti ripporrò, s'el secolo abbandoni.[17]

This is an extreme example of the insoluble problem of reconstructing the earliest version of the entry: Conegrani had no obvious reason to invent the poem he records; on the other hand, for once, the Scève text

Aneau: a study in Humanism," *Romanic Review* 2 (1911): 172, finds the style more reminiscent of Aneau, whose hand he sees in the whole Diana episode.

[16] Conegrani, fol. 238.

[17] Ibid., fol. 238r–v.

is confirmed by an early bulletin, *Le grand triumphe.* If, as seems possible, Diana originally delivered more than one speech, it is surprising that Scève opted for the parochial text expressing municipal devotion rather than the heady sentiments about world conquest and eventual apotheosis; alternatively, it seems possible that Conegrani mixed this speech up with those of Immortality and Virtue in the next playlet, whose theme is the conquest of kingdoms.

All witnesses testify to the success with the king and court of this *mystère*, with Brantôme stressing in particular the erotic stimulus provided to the courtiers by the actresses' legs, and the lasting pleasure given by the play to Diane de Poitiers.[18] The *consulat* had every reason to flatter Diane here, since they had been soliciting her support in their campaign to avoid paying the current year's taxes to the king,[19] and since she was at the height of her favor, having just been granted the duchy of Valentinois. Despite the obvious allusion to the king's mistress in the choice of subject, this playlet was retained for the queen's entry on the following day. However, a change was made to the action: instead of merely making obeisance, as it had to the king, the lion here opened its breast to show the queen's coat of arms next to its heart.[20] Diana's *dizain* was replaced and reduced to a rather uninspired *quatrain* which stresses the theme of love rather than obedience:

> Vous faisant part, Princesse tresprudente,
> De nostre chaste & honnorable queste,
> Vous presentons ceste amoureuse Beste,
> Qui de son gré tout à vous se presente.[21]

The second theatrical element was set beside the *fausse-porte de Bourgneuf*, where the theme of ruined antiquity, introduced in the obelisk, had been taken up again in a stretch of the wall built between the arch and the nearby hill. The planners exploited the hill as the set for another Arcadian *saynète*: they planted it with trees and shrubs, as in Diana's grove, and populated it with conscripted musicians dressed as satyrs and fauns, playing their instruments.[22] The satyrs are no doubt

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[18] *Magnificence,* fol. E; Conegrani, fol. 238v; Brantôme, *Oeuvres*, 9:321; cf. Sauvage's comment in appendix F.

[19] Lyon, arch. com., CC 983, fol. 24v; Guigue, 201–2.

[20] Lyon, arch. com., CC 980, no. 15; Guigue, 301, records the payment for this shield.

[21] Variants in *Le grand triumphe*, fol. C3v: "presentant"; "toute."

[22] *Le grand triumphe*, fol. B3v, mentions six musicans dressed as satyrs.

an echo of the playlet in the 1533 entry where they played a major role in the hunting scene.

At the *Griffon*, on each side of the great trophy, were placed two live local actresses representing Immortality and Virtue,[23] standing on pedestals and dressed in similar costumes to those of Diana's nymphs, with precious stones in their hair. Their playlet required them to make a presentation to the king; Immortality first giving him her golden crown, and then Virtue, her net full of castles and crowns. As they made their presentation, each had to deliver a short speech, which the conscientious Conegrani regrettably failed to hear because of the noise of the crowd,[24] but which *Le grand triumphe* and Scève both record. Underlining the theme of the Age of Gold in the inscriptions of this monument, Immortality proclaims in her *quatrain*:

L'heur, qui t'attend, d'immortalité digne,
Faict retourner soubz toy l'eage doré.
Parquoy la France icy t'a honnoré
De ce Trophee à ta vertu condigne.

The figure of Virtue, as she hands over her haul of crowns, promises the king the universal monarchy echoed in the inscriptions here and throughout the entry:

Le temps aussi, lequel tout extermine,
Esgallera la Fame à tes merites,
Sceptres rendant et couronnes petites
A ta grandeur de Magesté benigne.[25]

This playlet was also varied for the queen's entry on the Monday. Virtue's speech about conquest was replaced by another *quatrain* extolling the queen's honor and virtue, in a punning style more reminiscent of the *grands rhétoriqueurs* than is normal in Scève, while adding oblique compliments on her offspring:

Si la vertu, Princesse vertueuse,
Vous ha rendu sur toutes fleurissante,
Encores plus de vostre fleur issante
Se voit la France en vostre honneur heureuse.

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[23] Played by the daughters of the jeweller Simon Cottières and of the financier André de la Roze: Lyon, arch. com., CC 987, no. 2; Guigue, 325–26; Brooke, 24–25.

[24] Conegrani, fol. 241.

[25] The terms *extermine, esgaller, benigne*, and the association of Fame and Time are all paralleled in the *Délie*, especially 25.6, 240.6, 284.9.

Immortality's speech about the Age of Gold is replaced by one which picks up the idea of the lion being in love with her:

> Parquoy de vous estant toute amoureuse,
> Se resiouit de vous veoir iouissante
> Du bien osté à Fortune puissante,
> Pour mieulx vous rendre en terre glorieuse.

However, although we note here the same taste for word-games, we also observe that the *quatrain* has little to do with Immortality, and indeed it introduces a theme of earthly success and fortune which are out of place here and more appropriate to later stages of the entry.

A theatrical backdrop had been painted at the *Change* showing a perspective of either Troy or Athens. In front of this stood two actors: one, on the left dressed as Neptune, wore a radiate crown and held his usual attribute, a trident; Pallas[26] on the right, a beautiful girl in bejewelled helmet and antique boots, held her usual attribute, a lance, while leaning on a shield decorated with the head of Medusa.[27] The two acted out a short scene for the king, recorded only in French accounts, Scève, *Le grand triumphe*, and Sauvage, and involving both poetic utterances and the use of machines. The subject may have been suggested by Du Choul, who was to record in one of his books[28] the well-known dispute on the Parthenon between Athena and Poseidon for the patronage of Athens, turning on which of these two divinities should create a more useful thing for man. This playlet was more complicated than earlier ones in the entry because it involved the use of machines. As the king arrived, Neptune with his trident struck a rock, out of which emerged a mechanical horse, moving as if it were alive.[29] Proud of his achievement, Neptune then addressed this quatrain to Pallas:

> De mon trident ce Cheval ie procree,
> Non tant pour estre à l'homme familier,
> Que pour servir cest heureux Chevalier,
> Qui tout ce Siecle à son venir recree.

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[26] Played by the daughter of a certain Montaignard: Lyon, arch. com., CC 987, no. 2; Guigue, 326.

[27] Du Choul, *Religion*, 94; Tervarent, col. 230.

[28] *Religion*, 95.

[29] Scève is following the later Latin version of the myth, which has Neptune producing a horse: see Virgil *Georgics* 1.12–14; in the Greek versions water is produced: see Apollodorus 3.14. There is a confusion between *aquam* and *equum* in some MS, see Ovid *Met.* 6.70–83.

Not to be outdone, Pallas planted her lance in the ground, and it promptly burgeoned and turned into an olive tree. She retorted to Neptune with her own quatrain:

> De ceste lance, où toute force encree
> De Mars iadis confondoit les alarmes,
> De ses hayneux humiliant les armes,
> Luy rendra paix, qui tant au monde aggree.[30]

The ingeniously adapted message of the exchange is clear: Henri II is the new *roi-chevalier* who is renewing the art of chivalry; by his victories he will impose peace on the world. The inspiration for this scene is almost certainly an engraving by Antonio Fantuzzi published in France about 1542 and showing the two gods in dispute, with Neptune's horse bursting from the rock and Pallas' olive tree srpouting.[31]

On the following day at the queen's entry this script was replaced by two new quatrains. Neptune, after performing the trick with the horse, proclaimed:

> Si ie voulus le Roy tant estimer,
> Que mon Cheval dès Troye luy donnay,
> Ce mien Trident aussi vous destinay,
> Pour avec moy dominer la grand Mer.[32]

Here again the myth was being adapted, this time to evoke the Trojan origins of the French monarchy, and to associate Catherine, the princess who came to France across the sea in 1533, with her husband's ruling of the waves. Pallas repeats her turn with her lance and then says:

> La France alors commenceant à aymer,
> Muay pour vous, Princesse sage et bonne,
> La guerre en paix, comme le Ciel s'adonne
> A voz vertus haultement consommer.[33]

This picks up the theme of peace succeeding war from Pallas' earlier

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[30] Variants of *Le grand triumphe*, fol. Cv: 1. "où la force est encrée"; 2. "convainquis les"; 3. "hanyeurs"; 4. "rendant"; "plus au." The terms *encree, confondoit, alarmes, agree,* are all found in the *Délie,* especially 428.

[31] Engraving in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, see *L'École de Fontainebleau,* (Paris: Editions des Musées Nationaux, 1972), p. 265, no. 312.

[32] Variants in *Le grand triumphe*: "de Troye"; "avec luy."

[33] Variants of *Le grand triumphe*: "commencoye"; "Vivant pour vous"; "La France en paix, puis que le." The term *haultement,* as well as this sense of *consommer* are both found in the *Délie.*

speech, the idea of France being in love with the queen, as asserted by the lion, and the third theme enunciated earlier by Virtue, praise of Catherine's virtues.

Although a play will be a major feature in the later stages of the visit to Lyon, the element of live theatre in the entry proper is only modest, no more than three short scenes, plus the role of the satyrs at Bourgneuf, not forgetting the other musicians at Saint-Éloy. It is evident that the planners preferred to drama the media of architecture and inscription, and that, at least in his final album, Scève preferred to express his message in Latin rather than in French; however, to judge from Sauvage's comment, the inclusion of such playlets pleased the court.

8. *The Queen's Entry*

Monday, 24 September

There were ample previous examples of a separate entry being made by the queen, such as those of Mary Tudor to Paris in 1514, Claude to Paris in 1517, and the series of entries of Éléonore in 1530–33, including her entry to Lyon on the day after the dauphin.[1] We discover from Catherine's accounts that she had gone to the considerable expense of over 8000 *livres* to equip herself for her tour of the kingdom in 1548, where she made entries to Troyes, to Dijon, and to Lyon.[2] This may be compared with the further 20,222 *livres* she was to spend to put on a show for her entry to Paris and for her coronation.[3] Her household accounts record her as buying material while she awaited the king's return from Piedmont.[4] The major expenditure was for the litter in which she was to ride, which was to be fitted out in cloth of silver, embroidered with crimson and silver satin and crimson velvet, and decked in cloth of silver "couverte de broderie de satin cramoisy et fil d'argent à feuillages rempliz de canetille d'argent." Mules were to draw the litter by means of a "gros cordon d'argent et soye cramoisie ... et deux grandes houppes et deux boutons d'argent et soy cramoisie"; the mules themselves were to be caparisoned in cloth of silver and white

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[1] See Bryant, *The King*, 93–98.

[2] BN, *ms. fr.* 10406, fol. 10, records 4810 *livres* of "despenses faictes ... à ses nouvelles entrees es villes de Troyes et Dijon," and a further 3306 *livres* "pour semblable despense faicte en l'entree de ladicte dame en la ville de Lyon."

[3] Ibid., fol. 10.

[4] Ibid., fols. 11–14v.

velvet and led by two pages dressed in the same materials embroidered in red satin and wearing bonnets and belts of white velvet. The fourteen maids of honor accompanying the queen were also to be arrayed in silver. The only departure from these combinations of white, silver, and crimson was in the green velvet for the outfit of the lackey, who would lead her horse. However it was this green and white favor which most of the participants in the parade on the second day were to insert into their costumes in the queen's honor.

The king went to mass on the Monday morning[5] before going up the river by boat to join the queen and lunch with her.[6] The format of the day's events was modelled almost exactly on that for the king (which the queen had watched unobserved from a house in the city), starting at the *Logis du Mouton* with the semi-official visit of the Genoese. The *confréries* marched by in the same order as before with the addition of the queen's colors. The members of the foreign colonies went to greater lengths by paying homage in outfits of the same colors as before, but of different equally rich materials, and the lackeys of the Florentine merchants also sported the queen's green favor.[7]

Despite careful planning, this parade seems to have started later or taken longer than on the previous day, with the result that when the time came for the queen to join the parade and to make her entry, it was already after five o'clock, and the light was failing.[8] Unlike the king, Catherine did not ride into the city: her riderless horse took its place beneath the canopy under which the king had ridden the day before,[9] while she climbed into the sumptuously decorated open litter, drawn by mules and led by pages, which she shared with the king's sister, Marguerite, and which was escorted by two cardinals.[10] Her costume was made from cloth of silver and of gold decorated with a rose pattern; Marguerite wore cloth of silver and black silk; both had Italian hair-styles, the queen's embellished with jewels and pearls,[11] and both glittered so much with stones that one observer declared that they com-

[5] Alvarotto, busta 25, fol. 200v, 24 Sept.

[6] Alvarotto, busta 45, minute of 24 Sept.

[7] Conegrani, fol. 243r–v.

[8] Guéraud, 45.

[9] Conegrani, fol. 243v.

[10] Alvarotto, busta 45, 24 Sept., postscript; *Le grand triumphe*, fol. C3; Conegrani, fol. 243v.

[11] Conegrani, fol. 243v.

pensated for the gathering shades,[12] while another less diplomatically regretted not having managed to make out their costumes in the gloom.[13]

Behind the queen came another litter containing Marguerite de Navarre and her daughter Jeanne, beside whom rode Jeanne's prospective bridegroom Antoine de Bourbon,[14] followed by the various ladies-in-waiting of the queens and princess, dressed in crimson *raso* embroidered in gold.[15] As the procession set off, a flotilla of boats decked in the queen's colors of white and green, or the king's of white and black, or red for cardinal Ippolito d'Este, set off and kept pace with the royal party on its progress along the route to Saint-Jean.[16]

By the time the royal party reached the city it was dark: the queen could not see the monuments properly, let alone read the inscriptions, and torches had to be lighted; correspondingly, the crowds were dissatisfied because they could scarcely see the queens and princesses in all their finery.[17] The *saynètes* were performed by torchlight, with new texts being substituted, as we have noted, for the lines spoken to the king by the lion at Pierre-Scize, by Virtue and Immortality at the *Griffon*, and by Neptune and Pallas at the *Change*. A change may also have been made at the *Grand Palais*, where Scève describes *Occasio* as offering Catherine a half-share in Henri's kingdom of world, but this may simply be a flattering gloss placed by the poet on the statue's gesture of proffering a globe. Catherine was finally greeted at *Porte-froc* by Ippolito d'Este, who took her to the cathedral, and then on to the *Archevêché* where he had arranged a great banquet and ball attended by the ladies of the court and of the city, the principal guests numbering some 150, an event mentioned only in passing by Scève but singled out for praise by Denis Sauvage.[18]

Despite the later attempt by Catherine's *cicisbeo*, Brantôme, to present the failing light positively,[19] it is clear that this entry was less successful than that of the previous day. The limelight also seems to have been stolen in part by Diane de Poitiers, who, newly raised to the duchy

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[12] Ibid., fol. 243v.

[13] Alvarotto, busta 45, 24 Sept., postscript.

[14] Ibid., 24 Sept., postscript; Conegrani, fol. 243v.

[15] Alvarotto, busta 45, 24 Sept., postscript; Conegrani, fol. 243v.

[16] *Le grand triumphe*, fols. C3v–C4.

[17] Guéraud, 45.

[18] Alvarotto, busta 45, 24 Sept.; Sauvage in appendix F.

[19] Brantôme, *Oeuvres*, 3:258.

of Valentinois, had a prominent place in the entry, which only the Venetian ambassador had the indiscretion to mention.[20] The royal favorite's presence throughout the visit to Lyon is tactfully ignored by all the ambassadors in their reports, with the exception of one further mention in Conegrani, which gives some idea of her conspicuous role: the river jousting on the Tuesday was watched by the court from the vessels provided by Ippolito and the *consulat*, which included two *gondole*:

> et montate parimente sull'una delle gondole la Maestà del Re et Madame la gran Seniscialla sull'altra.[21]

Scève's album, aimed at flattering Catherine, makes no mention anywhere of her rival.

9. *Presentations & Watersports*

Tuesday, 25 September

The two entries were not the climactic end of the royal visit to Lyon, but merely the inauguration of an intensive and expensive week of activities, as all ambassadors declared:

> Qua non si attende ad altro che a dar' spasso à Sua Maestà, hora con bataglie navalli, hora con comedie, hora con superbi et sontuosi banchetti che li fa il s^r cardinale fratello de V. Ex^tia, et hor con una cosa et hor con un'altra, a fine che la Maestà Sua se ne passi il tempo con manco noglia che si possa et con quella più consolatione et contentezza di S. S^ria R^ma et di tutta questa città che sia possibile. [*fol 203v*]. Si continua pur' in dire che, fatta la festa de s^to Michele in questa città, Sua Maestà se ne partirà e dirizzerà il suo camino per la volta de Molins et poi de San Germano.[1]

These activities were not simply junketings, but involved at least two meetings of the king's council to debate not only the financial crisis in Lyon, but also the diplomatic and military aftermath of the royal visit

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[20] Giustiniano, fol. 237, Lyon, 2 Oct. 1548.

[21] Conegrani, fol. 244.

[1] Alvarotto, busta 25, fol. 203r–v, Lyon, 28 Sept., and minute of same date in busta 45; Giustiniano, fol. 236, Lyon, 2 Oct.

to Piedmont.[2] The catalogue of royal edicts points to a period of intense administrative activity during this stay;[3] some discussion with theologians was also planned about the council of Trent,[4] but it was promptly adjourned to a future meeting of bishops in Moulins.[5] Of all the members of the royal entourage, Ippolito d'Este, as host, was no less busy[6] than proud of the success which his costly preparations were earning him.[7] After the two formal entries on the Sunday and Monday, the following Tuesday was devoted to two ceremonies, the presentation of civic gifts and the first of the river sports, aquatic jousting.

The city had commissioned two sculptures to be presented to the royal pair as a record of their visit to Lyon, and both had been completed in late August, to the great satisfaction of the *consulat*, who awarded the goldsmith Delabarre an additional sum for the quality of his work.[8] The king's gift, worth some 700–800 *écus*, was presented to him in a box of black velvet braided in silver and black silk, his own colors, but then lined with crimson satin. The sculpture was placed on a square base decorated with the arms of the city and with the royal devices, crescents, pairs of bows, and monograms. It portrayed a seated king in Roman armor, before whom two standing figures presented yet another obeisant lion. These two figures, Faith and Liberality, were intended to be identified from their attributes; however, it must be said, that for all Scève's claims to classical precedent, the iconography here is more abstruse than usual.

Faith is seen holding a loaf in one hand and a vase in other. The vase had many allegorical associations,[9] but not usually with Faith, which was indicated by a ring, a seal, a diamond, a dog, or even a letter S. Liberality appears holding a *tessere*, a dice, with a disk under her right foot; the usual association of the dice is with the Graces or with Fortune. However, we can see here Du Choul at work, unearthing the association on Roman coins of *Liberalitas* with a dice, notably on a coin of Augustus which he reproduces in his *Religion des Romains,* where the same

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[2] Giustiniano, fol. 236, Lyon, 2 Oct.

[3] CAH, 2: nos. 3602–755, 3853–58, 4091–92, 4098, 4101.

[4] Dandino, 388.

[5] Giustiniano, fol. 236, Lyon, 2 Oct.

[6] Alvarotto, busta 25, fols. 205–206v, 1 Oct.

[7] Dispatch of bishop of Ceneda, Lyon, 24 Sept. 1548, Arch. Vat., AA. 1. xviii. 6532, fol. 287; cf. Dandino, 389.

[8] Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fol. 242v; Rolle, 421; Guigue, 171.

[9] Tervarent, col. 8–9, 392–99.

word *tessere* is also used.[10] However, the wheel or ball under the foot is traditionally an attribute of Fortune/*Occasio*,[11] witness its use for the statue of *Occasio* in this entry. A casual observer would have had difficulty recognizing either Faith or Liberality under these traits.

The gesture of these two goddesses is encapsulated in the accompanying inscription, which Scève, Aneau, and Du Choul had devised:

FIDEI LIBERALITATISQ. PVBLICÆ D.

This is a change from the original design, which had called for Liberty instead of Liberality, and the consequent inscription

FIDEI LIBERTATISQUE PUBLICAE.

Du Choul probably had in mind here the legends on Roman coins, FIDES PUBLICA and LIBERTAS PUBLICA,[12] which had been adapted by the Medici on some of their medals to the form

PAX LIBERTASQUE PUBLICA.[13]

A flattering allusion to the Medici may have originally been intended here. However the *consulat*, trapped in financial straits, decided to lay stress on their own liberal expenditure for the king's entry, in return for which they hoped for a liberal and generous settlement of the city's penury. It was not long before the city, locked in dispute with the royal treasury, regretted not having commissioned an extra gift for the chancellor.[14] The confusion over the subject of the king's sculpture may help to explain the quirky iconography, although Du Choul was no doubt able to draw on the legend from the various medals commemorating the liberality of Augustus.[15]

The queen's gift, worth some 600 *écus*,[16] was presented to her in a box covered in green velvet braided in silver, her own colors, but lined, like the king's box, with crimson satin. Unlike the king's gift, the sculpture was set on a triangular base, decorated with the arms of the city. The subject was broadly similar: it was intended to portray a queen seated on a throne, holding two *cornucopiæ*, with yet another lion in front of her;[17] but this was changed from a queen to the goddess Pros-

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[10] Du Choul, *Religion*, 137–41; cf. Tervarent, col. 146–47 and fig. 41.

[11] Tervarent, col. 51, 325–26.

[12] Stevenson, *Dictionary*, 385, 518.

[13] G. F. Hill, *A corpus of Italian medals of the Renaissance before Cellini* (London, 1930), nos. 909, 910.

[14] Lyon, arch. com., BB 68, fol. 299; Guigue, 189–90.

[15] Stevenson, *Dictionary*, 515–17.

[16] Weight "sept marcz, troys onces, ung denier, douze grains d'or": Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fol. 243; Guigue, 171.

[17] Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fol. 211v; CC 982, no. 1; Guigue, 154–55.

perity (resembling Catherine), with the two *cornucopiæ* representing Abundance and Felicity,[18] thereby echoing the two *tondi* at the Grand Palais. From the top of the *cornucopiæ* issued a lily, a convenient symbol both of France and of Florence, which opened to reveal two busts of children, her second and third children, Élisabeth (b. 1546) and Claude (b. 1547). At the goddess's feet sat another older child, the dauphin François (b. 1544), who played with a ball enamelled in gold: this was interpreted both as echoing the balls on the Medici arms, and also, since it was encircled by a gold band representing the zodiac, as symbolizing the fact that the dauphin would one day govern the world.[19]

This expression of confidence in the security of the dynasty and in its glorious future was echoed in yet another borrowing by the humanist trio from that first book of the *Aeneid*, which was the chief epigraphical inspiration of the entry:

SEMPER HONOS NOMENQ. TVVM LAVDESQ. MANEBVNT.

This was a highly predictable quotation, witness its earlier use in the 1539 wedding celebrations of Cosimo I as well as in Chichon's description of Henri's coronation.[20] In Lyon the words of Aeneas, thanking Dido for receiving him and invoking the blessing of the gods upon her, are put in the mouth of the city which formulates a similar wish for Catherine.

While the two civic gifts appear munificent, we should nonetheless put them into context by recording that the Florentine colony in the city had also commissioned a golden sculpture, worth 2000 ducats (5000 *livres*),[21] and costing 250 *scudi* for the workmanship, far in excess of the city's gesture and indicative of the value placed by the *fuorusciti* on the king's commercial favor. Already on the Tuesday evening the banker Panciatichi was able to report to the grand duke that the royal couple were delighted with the colony's devotion, and this augured well for Florentine interests:

Il Re ci fa careze et promesse grandi, et così la Regina.[22]

This gift was to be presented to the queen on the Wednesday evening at the end of the performance of *La Calandra*, by an actress playing the

[18] Tervarent, col. 116–17.

[19] Ibid., col. 199–200.

[20] *Aen.* 1.609; cf. *Ecl.* 5.78; Giambullari, 26; J. Chichon, *De adeptione regni et coronatione Henri Secundi* (Paris: M. David, 1547, 4°), 83.

[21] Alvarotto, busta 25, fols. 195v–96, 23 Sept.

[22] Letter of Bart. Panciatichi, Tuesday 25 Sept., in AS Florence, *Mediceo* 390, fol. 373.

role of the Age of Gold. The design was a solid gold composite *fleur-de-lys*, 0.5 meters high (¾ *braccio)*, an appropriate choice since it was the emblem both of France and of Florence. Standing on a triangular base like the city's statue, the lily's roots formed a canopy, underneath which lay a recumbent figure with broken wheel and torn sail, manifestly representing Fortune who has been defeated.[23] At each corner of the base was a shield bearing the red *fiordiligi* of Florence, who looks to France for protection. The horizontal bar from which the leaves spring provided the base for three easily recognizable gold figurines: one is clearly Prudence, holding two attributes, a snake and mirror;[24] the second, carrying sword and scales is clearly Justice;[25] and the third, with a broken column, is Fortitude, who also echoes the gigantic portrayal of Samson on the proscenium.[26] It is interesting to note that these three virtues do not, as has been thought,[27] correspond to the qualities embodied in the three companions of the Age of Gold, Peace, Justice and Religion, evoked in Gold's speech; instead they are the active virtues which will allow Henri to subjugate Fortune and win eternal fame. On top of the three vertical leaves of the plant was placed a golden globe representing the world, containing a vase of perfume which gave off a sweet smell through the top of the globe. This perfume alludes both to the flower itself and to the sense of smell, evoking connotations with the sweet odor of Virtue, Piety, and Religion.[28]

Only rarely do we discover what became of the gifts made by cities to monarchs on the occasion of triumphal entries. It would be instructive to learn, for instance, what became of the costly silver model of the amphitheatre of Nîmes presented to François Ier after his 1533 entry. The fate of the gift made to the queen in Lyon is, however, both known and significant. In the poems of the Florentine exile Gabriele Simeoni we find a mildly envious piece addressed to Aretino about the avarice of princes, in which François Ier's present of a chain to the scourge of princes is held up as a model of a royal generosity threatened with extinction, but for the example of his successor on the throne:

Io mi volea doler ch'ei fosse estinto

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[23] Tervarent, col. 325, 410.
[24] Ibid., col. 271–72, 340–42.
[25] Ibid., col. 36–37, 156.
[26] Ibid., col. 106–7.
[27] G. Padoan, ed. B. Dovizi, *La Calandra* (Padua: Antenore, 1985), 231–34.
[28] Tervarent, col. 155, 248, 394–95.

Si tosto, ma il favor ch'all'Alamanno
Ha fatto Arrigo il mio dolor ha vinto.[29]

An obliging marginal note identifies this largesse as "un gran giglio d'oro donatoli nell'intrata di Lione," from which we deduce that the golden *fleur-de-lys* made for Catherine had been presented by her to Luigi Alamanni in gratitude for the interludes he had composed for the performance of *La Calandra*, as we shall see below, and no doubt for other Italian elements in the entry not recorded in Scève's album.

The events of the rest of the day provide an excellent example of variations in reporting by different sources. After lunch the royal party embarked in their two gondolas, and were taken to see the representatives of the *quartiers* of Saint-Vincent and of Saint-George jousting on the Saône. Scève tells us nothing more, apart from the fact that the king particularly enjoyed this entertainment. The Italian translation of Scève's album adds a learned gloss, namely that the jousters were appreciated so much

> che se Heraclito vi fussi stato harebbe convertito il suo pianto in riso & Democrito harebbe cresciuto il rider suo.[30]

For an event which scored such a success with the king, Scève dispatches it in the remarkably short space of four lines.

Happily, Conegrani is less sparing of details. He describes the flotilla which appeared at midday, made up of two galleys, six frigates, and two large Venetian-style gondolas.[31] Three members of the court had frigates fitted out in their colors: the queen, Marguerite de France and Ippolito d'Este.[32] Each boarded one of their boats, while the king and Diane de Poitiers embarked in the two gondolas, and all went to enjoy a skirmish between the two galleys.[33] Scève makes no mention of this, reporting merely that the party went to see the ships which were to take part in the naumachia planned for later in the week, and went upstream with them as far as the suburb of Serin, on the way to L'Ile Barbe, to the accompaniment of music and artillery.

It was after the inspection of the fleet that the aquatic jousting took place, described thus by Conegrani:

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[29] G. Simeoni, *Le satire alla Berniesca* (Turin: M. Cravotto, 1549, 4°), fols. B3v–B4.
[30] F. M., fol. K2v.
[31] See below, *Naumachia*.
[32] Conegrani, fol. 244.
[33] Ibid., fol. 244.

> Que' giovani della terra intanto compuosero puoi una giostra navale fra loro, et la fecero veder' a sua Maestade; et era di tal sorte che due montavano su dui piccioli burchielli et si cingeano al collo dui scuti longhi che lor dava ai ginocchi; poi tolevano una lancia in mano et fermatissi bene sull'un de capi del burchiello che guidavano da diece remi, si lasciavano in cottal modo andar' l'un contra l'altro; et como si erano tanto vicini che la ponta della lancia potea toccar' gli scudi, su quelli le appostavano, et così el più forte facea cadder' l'altro del burchiello innell'acqua, et avveniva ben spesso che tutti due vi andavano ad un tratto.

This jousting was traditional in Lyonnais popular festivals, and had loomed large in the discontinued *Fête des Merveilles*; despite the abolition of this event, sports on the river had persisted as an element in most public festivals, and they became the speciality of certain of the *confréries*, notably that of Saint-Vincent. For Anne de Bretagne's entry of 1507 Saint-Vincent had put on a river spectacle, and they were to do so again for the Swiss ambassadors in 1549, for Jacques de Saint-André's 1550 entry, and for the peace celebrations in 1559. It was also customary for them to challenge another *confrérie* to jousting (in 1552, for instance, they put on a river battle against the *basoche*).[34] This popular entertainment was also reenacted for the low-key visit of Charles IX in 1564.[35] Jousting is illustrated in the near-contemporary *Plan Scénographique* of the city,[36] showing boats propelled by four oarsmen with the lancer standing in the rear, in the view of a third boat containing spectators and umpires. We know from Guéraud that this could be accompanied by music and by artillery.[37]

This watersport so delighted Henri II, that according to Conegrani he wanted to see nothing else, from which we may understand that other entertainment planned for the day was postponed.[38] *Le grand triumphe* asserts that there was jousting on the river on each day from Tuesday to Saturday; this is not confirmed by other sources, and although it is likely that the spectacle was repeated, the author may

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[34] Guéraud, 50, 63; Tricou, "Les confréries," 296.

[35] V. de Valous and A. Steyert, eds. *Entrée de Charles IX à Lyon en 1564* (Lyon, 1884), 47.

[36] Engraved between 1548–50 and republished first by the *Société de Topographie historique de Lyon* (Lyon 1871–86), and recently as *Le plan de Lyon vers 1550*, by the Archives municipales de Lyon (Lyon: Archives municipales, 1990).

[37] Guéraud, 63.

[38] Conegrani, fol. 244r–v.

simply be referring to the variety of aquatic events which went on each day.

10. *Luncheon & Tennis*

Wednesday, 26 September

There is some disagreement about the events of the Wednesday and Thursday, 26–27 September. Scève places on the same day the banquet at Rontalon, the visit to the new *jeu de paume* at Ainay, and in the evening the Florentine comedy. Neither of the first two events is recorded by Conegrani nor by Guéraud, who both appear to place the *naumachia* on the Wednesday afternoon,[1] while Scève situates it on the Thursday. The chronology is further complicated by the fact the Guéraud records no events for the Thursday at all; Conegrani loses a day in his week, describing Tuesday 25 as Tuesday 26 September, placing the *naumachia* and the comedy on the following day, and then giving the next day as Friday; and the Italian, F. M., who added an account of the comedy to the Italian version of Scève's album, places the comedy on 27 September, a day later than Scève, who situates a ball on that evening, as does the Italian translation of his album. It would be tempting to accept Scève's chronology and dismiss the others, were it not for a letter from the Florentine agent and banker, Bartolommeo Panciatichi, who wrote to Cosimo I announcing the forthcoming play:

> Giovedì sera farasi la nostra comedia della quale n'harete aviso,[2]

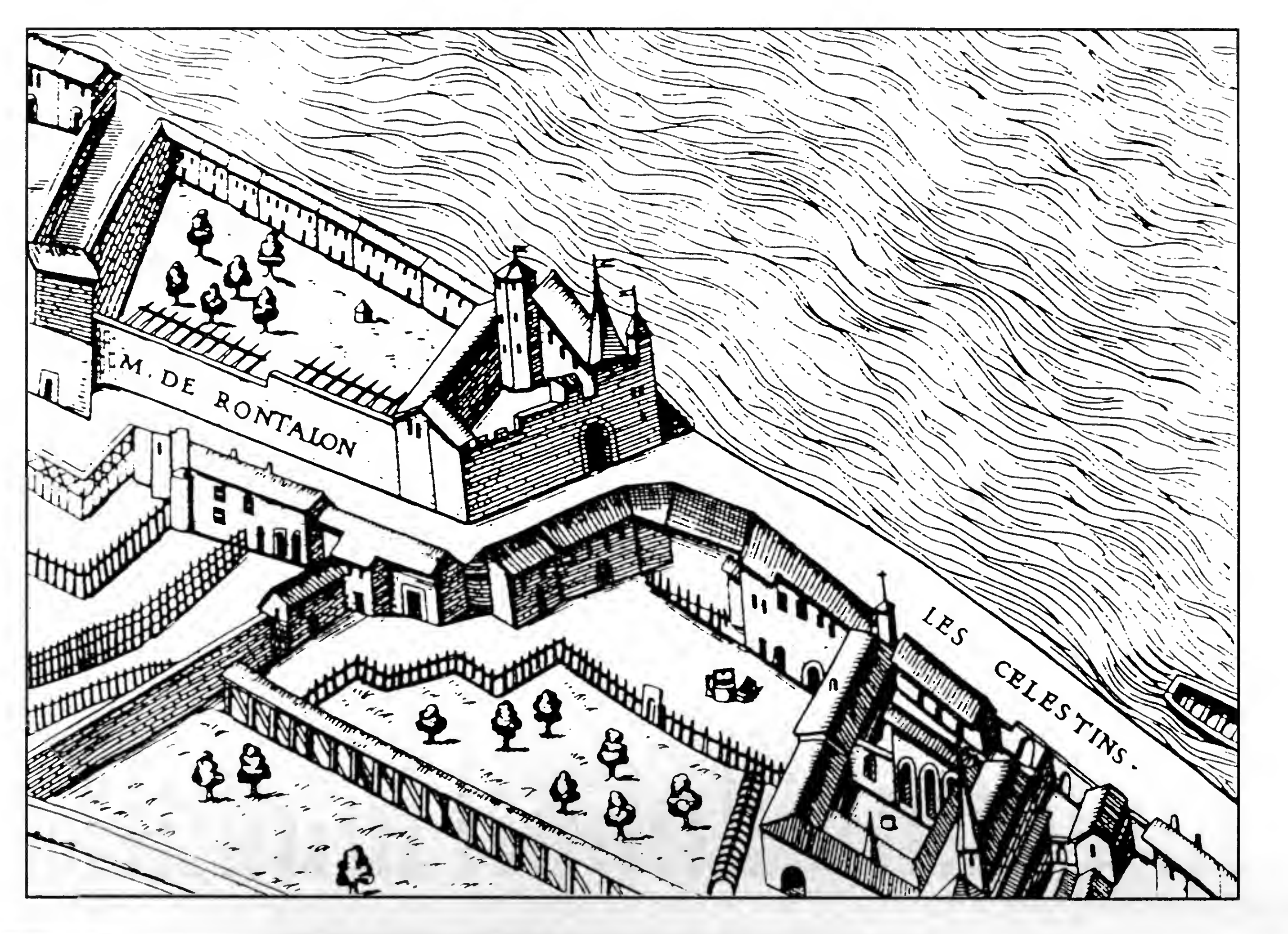
thereby confirming the date of Thursday 27 September given in the *Particolare descritione*. If we assume that the day Conegrani has lost is the Tuesday, and that he meant to write *Wednesday* 26 September, then we arrive at this position: while there is still disagreement as to whether the *naumachia* took place on Wednesday or Thursday, all Italian sources concur in placing the first performance of the comedy on the Thursday night. There is not enough evidence to decide, and so Scève's chronology will be followed here for convenience, though there is reason to think that he has brought forward the date of the play.

The events of the Wednesday were orchestrated to make maximum use of the river. Each time the king's gondola moved, it was escorted by

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[1] Guéraud, 45–46.

[2] AS Florence, *Mediceo* 390, fol. 373.



The Maison de Rontalon

The Abbage d'Ainay and the New Tennis Court

the flotilla of other boats, which on Wednesday accompanied the court to the luncheon prepared by Ippolito d'Este at his estate at Rontalon. This day's sightseeing also included three major pieces of construction or decoration which were to outlive the other ephemera of the entry: Rontalon, the *jeu de paume*, and the theatre. As archbishop of Lyon, Ippolito enjoyed use of a property situated across the Saône and slightly downstream from Saint-Jean, between the Célestins and La Rigaudière, and thus between the present Place Bellecour and the river. This property is described in an earlier document as

> une maison de plaisance, haulte, moyenne et basse, sur la riviere de Saulne ... et ung grand jardin de plaisance et columbier dedans, nommé Rontalont.[3]

The only relic of Ippolito's occupancy of Rontalon appears to be a carved coat of arms preserved in the Musée Guadagne, bearing Ippolito's motto, *Ab insomni concustodita dracone*, and thought to originate from this property,[4] which the archbishops finally surrendered to the city in 1582.[5] In the contemporary plan of Lyon, the *Maison de Rontalon* appears as a late gothic building with a large quadrangle behind, containing a few trees and a dovecote. One wall of the quadrangle was the garden façade of the house; the side along the river was made up of a row of houses; and at the end opposite the house was a garden wall in stone, which also ran along the street side, although a long pergola was erected against this wall.

In anticipation of the entry Ippolito had given both the house and gardens a major face-lift, which foreshadows the extraordinary landscaping he was to undertake shortly afterwards at Tivoli. Scève gives us little information about it, but the Italian translation adds a few details. We know nothing of the lavish decoration of the house itself, other than that the outer façade, towards the river, was painted in light and dark colors,[6] and in the middle the royal arms were supported by lifesize figures of the four cardinal Virtues, echoing their presence in the victory column outside the *Archevêché*. The façade giving on to the garden was also in the same contrasting colors, with false but highly convincing

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[3] Lyon, arch. com., CC 36, list of *nommées* for 1517.

[4] J. Tricou, "Hippolyte d'Este, archevêque de Lyon, et le Régale de 1562," *Cahiers d'histoire des Universités de Clermont, Lyon et Grenoble*, 4. no. 4 (1959): 337.

[5] Lyon, arch. com., BB 109.

[6] Probably the king's black and white: the Italian text says "depinto la facciata dinanzi di chiaro et scuro," F. M., fol. K2v.

painted windows: this appears to be an attempt to classicize a Gothic building.

Against the garden façade Ippolito had constructed a massive wooden pergola, or arbor, decorated with oakleaves, festoons, and shields; under this canopy, by the light of chandeliers hanging from its beams, the luncheon was served. The pergola shown in the plan along the street wall of the garden may be a relic of this construction. At the far end of the gardens, which were laid out in regular alleys, he had placed painted perspectives against the wall, so that looking along these alleys the guests could see *trompe-l'oeil* effects.[7]

This luncheon was a strange mixture of Italianate decor and French ceremony, since the assembled guests seated under the arbor were treated to a military interlude which harked back to the civic contribution to the entries of the king and queen. The two bands of *enfants de la ville*, mounted and on foot, preceded by the officers who had led them for the entries, made their third appearance of the week, parading in the king's colors. They were presented to him, and they also waited at table during the lunch.[8] The meal was followed by a ball held in the gardens, after which the king embarked in the bucentaur to travel the very short trip downstream to Ainay, just beyond La Riguadière, to visit the new *jeu de paume*.

We have seen that this riverside court, specially commissioned by the *consulat*, had been completed in good time. Although the abbatial buildings of Ainay were sacked in 1562–63, the tennis court seems to have survived into the eighteenth century.[9] Scève's description of it is sketchy, whereas the Italian translation gives much more detail. This is of value since few descriptions of Real/Royal tennis courts exist for the early sixteenth century. In the *Plan scénographique*, a *jeu de paume* is shown at Ainay, with players in action. Although there had already been a court at Ainay where the dauphin had played immediately before his untimely death in 1536,[10] the one in the *Plan* is clearly the newly built one because of the two crescent moons shown on the front and

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[7] The French and Italian versions differ here, Scève only mentioning the garden perspectives, and the Italian text the false windows: this raises the question of whether or not they were placed at both ends.

[8] Tricou, "Enfants," 122.

[9] A later rental contract to a local *paumier* is in Lyon, arch. com., BB 76, and its final sale in 1574 into private hands is in BB 92.

[10] See the survey by P. Saint-Olive in *Revue du Lyonnais*, 2ᵉ série, 22 (Jan.–June 1861): 479–86.

back façades, specifically mentioned by Scève as decorative features. The court was considered large of its kind, measuring 80 *passi* long and 30 *passi* wide. The galleries were fitted with round black columns supporting the *baletz*, and the penthouse (*tetto*) and walls of the court were also painted black so the ball would show up better. F. M.'s Italian text states that the king proved the city's initiative had been well-aimed by trying out the court himself that day, whereas Scève's original text placed this game on the Thursday, confirmed in the Italian version (fol. K4v) as a second match.

The third part of the day's program involved another short trip upriver on the bucentaur from Ainay to the cathedral, escorted by the flotilla of other craft; since this coincided with tea-time, and since the king had just played (or not played) tennis, he was treated to refreshments on board. The mechanical ceiling of the boat astonished those on board, as it was lowered on black and white cords and transformed into a table groaning with sweetmeats, which Scève describes as coming from Genoa, Spain, and Portugal and being wrought into the shapes of animals colored in gold and blue, and embellished with the arms of members of the court. To accompany the solids from above, another machine brought quantities of wines up from below, which moved Scève, and Denis Sauvage after him, to observe that the celestial gods were providing the food, and the aquatic gods the drink. The fleet arrived at the cathedral landing-stage at 5 pm., and the king disembarked and went back to the *Archevêché* for dinner[11] and to prepare to go to the *Salle Saint-Jean* to see the play put on by the Florentines.

11. *The Italian Theatre*

It was a long-established custom for plays to be performed in Italian civic festivals; a good recent example had been the plays put on for the marriage of Cosimo de' Medici in 1539.[1] This practice was adopted by the planners of the 1548 entry to Lyon, and it is clear that the Italian

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[11] The meal is not mentioned by Scève; however since Henri landed at 5 pm., and went to the play at 7 pm., "a un hora di notte" in the Italian album by F. M., f° Nv, then Conegrani's evidence about dinner, fol. 244v, seems logical.

[1] Giambullari, cit. On contemporary Florentine theatre decorations see H. Purkis, "La décoration de la salle et les rapports entre la scène et le public dans les mascarades et les intermèdes florentins, 1539–1608," in J. Jacquot, ed. *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance* (Paris: C. N. R. S., 1975), 3, 239–51.

community was the prime mover in this initiative, though this is far from being the starting point of Lyonnais theatre. Barthélémy Aneau, one of the organizers of the 1548 entry, had recently been writing dramatic dialogues for his pupils to perform at the *Collège de la Trinité*.[2] Furthermore, although there was no national tradition in France of purpose-built theatres, there had been a playhouse in Lyon prior to 1548: in 1539 a rich merchant, Jean Neyron, sold everything he had inherited from his father, bought some old barns near the convent of the Augustinians and constructed a large well-equipped theatre, with a three-storied auditorium and a pit.[3] Here he staged productions of mystery plays rounded off with farces;[4] these performances were put on for some three or four years, and their demise after the death of Neyron was deplored by Rubys, who believed that these entertainments helped keep the holidaying populace out of taverns and brothels.

However, apart from this short-lived experiment, the major impetus for public theatre in Lyon came from the Florentines, who put on plays and *mommeries*, the latter involving a procession of actors in costume. For the 1541 carnival they performed a comedy in the refectory of the *abbaye d'Ainay* in the presence of the abbot, Cardinal Gaddi, followed by a banquet for the nobility of the city.[5] For the carnival of 1553 the Florentines put on an expensive but unsuccessful *mommerie* about Pluto and Proserpina, which the Luccans outclassed with their own mythological piece;[6] others followed in 1554 for the carnival and for weddings,[7] and in 1557 for the epiphany and carnival.[8]

As they were to do later for the visit of Philip of Spain to Antwerp, the Florentine colony in Lyon resolved to put on a play as part of the entry festivities for Henri II.[9] The problem arose, however, of the lack of a suitable building: Ippolito d'Este came to the rescue by making

[2] Gerig, "Aneau," *Romanic Review*, 1 (1910): 187–91, 195–200, 281–89.

[3] See the exhibition catalogue, *Lyon: Entrées royales*, 31, 39.

[4] Guéraud, 29; Rubys, *Histoire*, 370–71; cf. the permission given for Philippe Galain & Co. to perform mysteries of the Passion, Nativity, Ascension etc., in the period 1537–40, Lyon, arch. com., BB 57.

[5] Guéraud, 33.

[6] Ibid., 66–67.

[7] Ibid., 71–74, 77.

[8] Ibid., 89, 92–93.

[9] B. Mitchell, "Firenze illustrissima: l'immagine della patria negli apparati delle nazioni fiorentine per le feste di Lione del 1548 e di Anversa del 1549," in *Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell'Europa del '500. III: Relazioni artistiche; il linguaggio architettonico* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1983), 995–1004.

available the *Salle Saint-Jean* in the archbishop's palace, which Brantôme describes as having been

> une chose vaste, layde et sans aucune forme de beauté ny gentilesse, comm'un certain galletas.[10]

The river-front of this palace is clearly seen in manuscripts painted for Pierre Sala, showing a four-storied building with a pitched roof and a prominent oriel window on the *piano nobile.*[11] It was built in the mid-fifteenth century by Charles II, Cardinal de Bourbon, when he restored the *Archevêché*, dividing the riverside wing, twenty-seven meters long, into four chambers, the largest of which was a *chambre à parer* almost ten meters long with a monumental fireplace and lit by two windows on each side and an oriel window, which adjoined the bedroom on one side and a *salle* on the other.[12] We are uncertain about the lay-out of the interior because subsequent to the 1548 decorations the building was restored as early as 1562–63,[13] then modified again in the seventeenth century and then by Soufflot.[14] Consequently an eighteenth-century plan of the *Archevêché* in the *Archives municipales* of Lyon no longer shows a room which exactly corresponds to Scève's description of the *Salle Saint-Jean.*[15] This complex of late-gothic chambers was to be totally refitted and redecorated for the 1548 entry, and this work proved to be one of the few undertakings of the entry which outlived the event, long enough at least to be seen by Brantôme himself. In the description of the decoration of this theatre, we have another example of the variation between different sources. Scève devotes only eighteen lines to this sumptuous and innovatory enterprise; but the Italian translator of the album, F. M., goes into such enthusiastic detail that his text covers nine pages (fols. M–N).

Unlike the preparations undertaken by the *consulat*, for which we have detailed accounts, the absence of cathedral accounts or detailed mention of this expenditure in the papers of Ippolito d'Este in Modena, means that we have little idea of the costs involved: our only direct esti-

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[10] Brantôme, *Oeuvres*, 9.256.

[11] Pierre Sala,, *Complainte au Dieu d'Amour*, Vienna, Österreichische Nazionalbibliothek, MS 2618; *Les prouesses de plusieurs Roys*, BN, *ms. fr.* 10420; cf. the oblique and less clear view in the *Plan scénographique*.

[12] See the 1466 contract for the architect, Vozy de Saint-Martin, in J. Vanel, *L'archevêché* (Lyon: 1912), 19–22, and the plan in G. Gardes, *Lyon, l'art et la ville* (Lyon, 1988), 2:69.

[13] In preparation for the entry of Charles IX and at his request, see Lyon, arch. com., BB 83; it may have been damaged in the protestant disturbances.

[14] Vanel, 24–36.

[15] Lyon, arch. com., 2S 540.

mate is Brantôme's report that the comedy cost Ippolito 10,000 *écus*, which we assume included the decoration and the importing of Italian actors,[16] and which recalls Alvarotto's estimate, cited earlier, of expenditure by the cardinal totalling 10,000 ducats, the ducat and *écu* being roughly equivalent at that date.

Apart from the portal placed on the façade, there does not appear to have been any other external decoration to the *Archevêché*. But the internal transformations to both the banqueting hall and the *Salle Saint-Jean* were nothing short of lavish, embracing the work of painters, sculptors, and architects. There was an antechamber to the *Salle Saint-Jean*, whose Gothic features were masked by embellishments in a foretaste of the style of the theatre itself. The ceiling was painted with sky and clouds, and the walls were decorated on three sides with a red serge frieze, 3.25 meters deep, embellished with shields and lions' heads. The lower part of the wall bore painted rustication, as did the jambs of the three large windows in the west wall. The east wall was pierced by the large door which communicated with the new theatre, a door 4.1 meters high (6⅔ *braccia*) and 2.15 meters wide (3⅓ *braccia*); above it was an elaborate architrave and pediment which made the doorway almost 6 meters high, the whole being painted in white jasper picked out in gold. Above the pediment were affixed two gilded *putti* in half-relief holding up a massive crescent moon, the horns of which reached to the painted sky. This crescent was embellished with the royal motto, its first recorded use in this entry:

DONEC TOTVM IMPLEAT ORBEM.

On each side of the entrance door stood a gilded terracotta figure 2.4 meters high (3¾ *braccia*), standing on a base 0.65 meters high (1 *braccio*): the statue on the right represented a youth holding the shield of Lyon; on left stood a girl holding a red lily to represent Florence. Each figure pointed to a third large shield hanging from the architrave which bore the three gold *fleurs de lys* of France; each pedestal bore an inscription, inaccurately transcribed in the album. The youth's read:

FOELIX EGO QVI[17] DVM REGEM ACCIPIO PATREM EXPERIOR.

While precedents exist for the opening *felix ego* or even *infelix ego*, this line praising Henri's fatherly protection of Lyon is apparently original to the local designers, as is the verse given to the girl, who invites the

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[16] Brantôme, *Oeuvres*, 3.256.

[17] The album gives QVE which makes no sense, F. M., fols. M2v–M3.

lilies of France not to despise the single lily of Florence:

LILIA MAGNA PRECOR, NOSTRVM NE TEMNITE[18] PARVVM.

Corresponding to the two statues by the entrance were two gilded terracotta figures of women, on the west wall beneath the windows. These figures reclined on bases, each bearing the inscription

HENRICO INVICTISSIMO D.D.

One statue, clearly Victory, held a crown with a palm frond in it; the other held a white wax torch, which to judge by the Victory column outside, represents one of the cardinal virtues. The four statues in this room were the first of several executed by Maestro Zanobi, who had been brought over from Florence, and who can probably be identified not with Zanobio di Poggino[19] but with Zanobio Lastricati (1508–90), the latter famed for his work in marble and bronze[20] and for his later work on public ceremonies similar to this entry, such as the funeral of Michelangelo and the marriage of Franceso I.[21]

The themes of the antechamber are Lyon and Florence, Henri's victories, and the paternal protection he will afford to Florence; the style is mainly classical, although there are still some heraldic devices. Moving from the antechamber into the *Salle Saint-Jean*, the spectators were confronted with a more consistently classical decor, with all the earlier Gothic, heraldic, or Christian features concealed. The creation of such an elaborate interior may have been motivated by a desire to emulate descriptions of the set provided by Genga and then by Peruzzi for the original performances of *La Calandra*.[22] This undertaking is of great significance for having been both the first classical theatre in the Italian style to be equipped in France, and the scene of the first performance in France of an Italian humanist comedy. The decor can be examined here progressively, considering in turn the architecture, sculpture, stage, lighting, and the seating.

i. Architecture

The room was rectangular, with the long walls running west-east, the

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[18] I amend the TENNITE of the album, ibid., fol. M3.

[19] Suggested by Padoan, *Calandra*, 218; but he is only listed as a painter by Vasari, *Opere*, ed. Milanesi (Florence, 1878–85), 5:131 and n.

[20] Ibid., 5:199 n. 2; 7:124; see G. Palagi, *Di Zanobio Lastricati ... ricordi e documenti* (Florence, 1871).

[21] Vasari, *Opere*, 7:306, 8:618; Brooke, 50–53.

[22] Padoan, *Calandra*, 203–14 and figs. III, IV.

entrance in the west wall, and the stage at the eastern end blotting out the monumental fireplace.[23] All around the base of the walls two steps had been built;[24] along the upper step ran a base 0.65 meters high (1 *braccio*) from which sprang a colonnade of twenty solid Corinthian columns, ten on each side, painted in white jasper with gilded capitals and reaching to a height, including the capitals, of 3.8 meters (5⅞ *braccia*). Between these columns were five arches on each side, resting on pilasters 1.15 meters high and 0.20 meters wide; each arch of this arcade was 2.25 meters wide (3½ *braccia*). The colonnade was continued on the west wall, where six more columns stood with three arches in between, the entrance door pierced in the middle area.

Above the capitals and arches on all three walls ran an entablature, 0.50 meters high, embellished with the royal colors and devices, the architrave decorated with gilded roses between the corbels.[25] A course of pediments ran above the entablature, one corresponding to each arch, each pediment topped with a satyr mask supported by two silvered *putti* in half-relief; above the masks were antique vases from which flames rose to the ceiling and from which hung a series of fruit-swags going round the room. A red serge frieze almost 2 meters deep (3 *braccia*) ran between this series of pediments and the ceiling was covered in canvas painted to imitate sky, affixed with stars and planets made from mirrors decorated with tinsel.[26]

These measurements give us a chance to estimate the size of the room. If each of the five arches along the side wall was 3½ *braccia* wide, and the space between each arch was 1½ *braccia*, this gives us an approximate length for the room of 16.25 meters (25 *braccia*), not counting the depth of the stage. Similarly, the width of the room (3 arches) comes to 9.75 meters (15 *braccia*). We can also estimate the height of the theatre: to the top of the entablature measured 9⅓ *braccia*, which with the frieze of 3 *braccia* high makes makes 8 meters overall (12⅓ *braccia*). The length is greater than that of the *chambre à parer* of the 1466 design (9.75m), which makes it apparent that the room had been enlarged, either in 1548 or earlier, to incorporate either the adjacent *salle* or the archibishop's bedroom (the latter 7.8 meters long): the *chambre à parer* and the bedroom together would give a length of 17.5 meters.

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[23] In fact the alignment was SW–NE, but we can adopt the bearings given by F. M.

[24] Lower one 0.75 meters high (1⅛ *braccia*); upper and lower together 1 meter high (1⅔ *braccia*).

[25] The 1466 contract shows that the windows had mouldings, corbels and carved voussoirs, Vanel, 19, which were all masked by the new decor.

[26] Conegrani, fol. 244v.

ii. Sculpture

This architectural framework was filled with statues, which, like those of the antechamber, were mainly the work of the sculptor Zanobi. Twelve gilded terracotta statues, 2.6 meters high (4 *braccia*), stood on bases 0.65 meters high (1 *braccio*), one in each of the twelve niches provided by the arcade, five on each side wall and one on either side of the door on the entrance wall. This anticipates the decor which was to be used in Antwerp for the entry of Philip of Spain.

The six military statues to the right of the spectator, five on the south wall and one on the western entrance wall, could readily be identified by the coat of arms hanging from the pediment above their niche and from accompanying inscriptions. They were dressed as ancient warriors and wrongly claimed by Scève to be the ancestors of the Medici family, whose praise he seizes the opportunity to sing. However, the Italian version correctly makes no such claim of ancestry. The first one, Lorenzo de' Medici (1492–1519), although no great warrior, no doubt earned his place as the father of Catherine de' Medici and as a Medici who had married into a French family. The second, Giovanni delle Bande Nere (1498–1526), a more distinguished general, had loomed large in the 1539 wedding celebrations[27] and was again to figure in effigy in the Antwerp entry. As the father of Cosimo I his place in Florence and Antwerp is more easily explained than in Lyon, where he might seem associated with the imperialist branch of the Medici, were it not for the fact that he had fought both for the papacy and for France against the empire. The inclusion of the third, the fifteenth-century condottiere Filippo Buondelmonti degli Scolari (Pippo Spano, 1329–1426), who was also to be celebrated at Antwerp, is clearly uncontroversial because of his heroic struggles against the Turk on behalf of the king of Hungary. The fourth, the Ghibelline Farinata degli Uberti (c.1200–64), was well known from his appearance in the *Inferno*; the fifth, the admiral Federico Folchi, was a Florentine who entered the order of Malta and defeated the Saracens in eighteen battles, many of them at sea; the last of the six, Giovanni (Nanni) Strozzi died in battle in 1427 when fighting for the *marchese* of Ferrara, and was immortalized in a eulogy by Leonardo Aretino. The thread linking these six *condottieri* is that they all saw service away from Florence: this theme is clearly an appropriate one for the expatriate Florentine colony in Lyon (and in Antwerp), celebrating the dissemination of their city's military prowess.

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[27] Giambullari, 10–11.

To the left of the stage was a matching series of statues, five on the north wall and one on the western entrance wall, dressed in antique togas and holding books. The first three held their books open, the last three closed; the first three wore laurel crowns, the fourth an oak crown; and the last two no crown. As with the military statues, their coats of arms hung from the pediments above. Again Scève misunderstands the nature of this group, claiming that they were all Florentine poets. The Italian translation simply calls them *togati*, men of letters as opposed to the warriors opposite. The first is the late-Imperial poet Claudian, wearing a laurel crown and holding an open book; his presence may be explained by the legend that his parents were Florentine.[28] The presence of the other two poets, Dante and Petrarch, wearing laurel crowns and holding open books, is no surprise and they were also to appear in the Antwerp theogony; as was the fourth writer, Boccaccio, who in Lyon held a closed book and wore an oak crown, the latter presumably to signify that he wrote mainly in prose. The last two statues form a stylistic pair, neither wearing a crown, perhaps because they are commentators, and both carry closed copies of their *magna opera*: Ficino's book is inscribed PLATO, in recognition of his translations and commentary; Accursius carries IVRA CIVIL. ROMAN., denoting his gloss on the *Corpus iuris civilis*, which, despite the mockery of humanists on both sides of the Alps like Valla and Budé, continued to be republished. All of these figures bear witness to the versatility of Florentine talents and to the dissemination of her culture.

This gallery of heroes makes a fascinating comparison with the one constructed for Philip in Antwerp.[29] In Lyon we have a simple division of arms and letters, six soldiers and six writers; in Antwerp there were only nine statues (*Nove Prodi*) falling into four categories: saints, writers, soldiers, and artists. Lyon is striking in having no religious figures at all, while Antwerp has Saints Zanobio and Antonio, together with an allegorical figure of *Religione*. But Lyon also has no place for artists, whereas Antwerp celebrates Giotto and Michelangelo with the figure of *Dea Industria*, and sees modern artists as superior to their Greek forbears; it was clearly an innovation in Antwerp to place artists on a par with poets or warriors. Lyon, with six soldiers, makes much more of military prowess, while

[28] Filippo Villani thought he was Florentine: *Liber de civitatis Florentiae famosis civibus*, ed. G. C. Galletti (Florence, 1847), 6–8.

[29] C. Grapheus, *Spectaculorum in susceptione Philippi Hisp. Prin. Divi Caroli V. Caes. F. An. M. D. XLIX. Antwerpiae aeditorum mirificus apparatus* (Antwerp: P. Coecke d'Alost, 1550, fol.) [henceforth cited as Grapheus]; Landwehr, *Splendid ceremonies*, 73–74.

Antwerp only has Giovanni dalle Bande Nere and Filippo Scolari with the allegorical figure of *Dea Fortitudinis*. The two cities are, however, more similar in their choice of writers, since Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio overlap, accompanied in Antwerp by the figure of *Dea Pitho/Suadela*, which marks them all as rhetoricians.

What unites the choice of these two Florentine colonies is the desire to represent predominately modern heroes, rather than the usual patron saints, legendary figures, or ancestors of rulers, and to lay stress on pride in the literary traditions of Florence and in the Tuscan language which the new Florentine Academy was promulgating. However, the Antwerp entry was more clearly identified with the emperor's ally Cosimo I, while in Lyon, apart from the statue of his father who was not openly committed to Spain, there was no reference to the current duke.

iii. Tuscan towns

Between the columns of each arch around the walls there was a space about one meter wide on which was painted a series of allegorical figures, four on each side wall and one on each side of the door: these represented ten towns belonging to the grand duchy of Tuscany, with their coats of arms on the entablature above. The women portraying the towns were all crowned, the males uncrowned. On the south side there were five figures representing Pisa, Volterra, Cortona, Borgo San Sepolcro, and (by the door) the recent acquisition of Castrocaro, the first four represented by crowned women and the last by an uncrowned man. Each city was identified by an emblem, which in no case corresponds to the municipal coat of arms: Pisa was recognizable from the anchor carried by the woman, no doubt because of the city's significance as a port; the woman representing Volterra held a boat, above which was the head of Janus Bifrons; Cortona's heroine carried a gold cup with a lid; Borgo San Sepolcro was identified by the two papal keys held by the woman; but Castrocaro was separated from the others both by being on a different wall and by appearing as an uncrowned man holding a rod. On the left wall were five more figures representing Fiesole, Arezzo, Pistoia, Prato, and Montepulciano, the first three being a group of crowned women, and the last two a boy and a man, both uncrowned. Fiesole's representative had torn clothes, and she held a bowl containing a set-square, a small mallet, and compasses; Arezzo clutched a large cornucopia while Pistoia held a smaller version; the two male figures portrayed Prato, a boy holding a gold cup without a lid, and Montepulciano, an old man holding a small hillock.

If the statues of warriors and writers had been an original element in festivals, these allegorical portrayals of towns were less so, having been used before by the Milanese for the towns of their duchy,[30] and by the Florentines themselves for the wedding of Cosimo I and Leonora di Toledo in 1539, using live figures representing the towns of Tuscany, which were probably the direct inspiration for Lyon. Several of the towns are common to both Lyon and Florence: Pisa, Volterra, Arezzo, Prato, Cortona, Montepulciano, and Pistoia; however, only Volterra and Pistoia carry the same identifying emblem in Lyon as in Florence.[31] Although the towns in Lyon are only paintings, their role is analogous to their nymph cousins in Florence, namely to show that the duchy was a full-blown sovereign realm and not just a mere city-state.[32] The same idea was to recur in Antwerp, where there were to be twelve statues of Tuscan towns.[33] However, the Mantuan ambassador Conegrani, when recording the iconography of the theatre in Lyon, deduced that there was a connection between the statues of heroes and the paintings of towns: he assumed that the heroes had originated from the towns in the niches next to them, and that the two series had to be read together.[34] This attractive theory breaks down on closer inspection and seems to work only for Petrarch and Arezzo, except that they were in adjoining niches rather in than the same niche.

iv. The stage

Nothing so far in the decor announces that the room in question is a theatre: there are no muses, no masks, and even the writers portrayed in terracotta are not dramatists. However, the east wall changes all this, as do the contents of the room.[35] At the east end an innovatory stage had been constructed: we do not know its width, depth, or height, although the room was about 9.75 meters wide and the album states that the stage was raised. As in the comedy performed at the 1539 Florentine wedding,[36] this set included a lifelike perspective backdrop, here representing a square in Florence, probably *Piazza della Signoria*, where the

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[30] Mitchell, "Firenze illustrissima," 998.

[31] Giambullari, 51–52, 58–59.

[32] Mitchell, "Firenze illustrissima," 998.

[33] Grapheus, fol. Iv.

[34] Conegrani, fol. 245.

[35] See R. Klein and H. Zerner, "Vitruve et le théâtre de la Renaissance italienne," in J. Jacquot, ed. *Le lieu théâtral à la Renaissance* (Paris: C. N. R. S., 1964), 49–60.

[36] Giambullari, 30, 65.

action of the play had been transferred for the occasion from the original Rome. The spectators could recognize the skyline of the city, the dome and the *campanile* of the cathedral, and the tower of the *Palazzo Vecchio*, the whole view emulating the cityscape designed for the 1513 Urbino performance.[37] This backcloth was the work of Nannoccio della Costa San Giorgio, a pupil of Andrea del Sarto and of Raffaello da Brescia, who had been in France for some time working for cardinal Tournon.[38] Conegrani further specifies that the six *mansions* involved in the play were portrayed around the central square in the Lyon set.[39]

This set has clearly been influenced not so much by Vitruvian models as by the Serlian perspectival design and by his comic scene in particular. There is no *frons scaenae*, and instead of the *versurae* we have, as in Serlio, two loggia-like wings, here topped with gilt balustrades projecting towards the audience, and painted with colossal figures of Samson on the right and Hercules on the left. At the base of each wing was the painted perspective of a large grated window with eponymous lions looking through it, and between the two windows, along the front of the stage, a *trompe l'oeil* painted staircase, whose lifelikeness misled people into thinking that they could climb it on to the stage. However, there was indeed a hidden staircase here, down which the Age of Gold came to present her gift to Catherine after the performance.[40] Everything about the design recalls Serlian illusion and makes this what can probably be considered the first example of a proscenium arch framing a perspectival set.

v. Lighting

Of particular interest in early descriptions of theatres are the provisions for lighting, which was achieved here throughout with white wax candles. There were six candles above the statues of Samson and Hercules on each side of the stage, which may have been part of the stage lighting, though we are not given other information. In the auditorium there were two rows of wall lighting. The lower row embodied the rather exotic conceit of dragons hanging by their tails, one from the base of each column, with spreading their multicolored wings and spewing

[37] G. L. Moncallero, "Precisazioni sulle rappresentazioni della *Calandria* nel Cinquecento," *Convivium*, n.s. 6 (1952): 829; Padoano, *Calandra*, 204.

[38] Vasari, *Opere*, 7:6–10.

[39] Conegrani, fol. 245.

[40] F. M., fol. P.

flame, each with a torch on the end of its tongue.[41] Sticking out along the frieze were dragon heads trying to bite the tails of two interlaced snakes, on whose heads rested a torch. The central lighting came from twenty *amoretti* hanging from the ceiling, each holding a bow, arrows, and a lighted torch.[42]

vi. Seating

The seating arrangements were complicated by the fact that the auditorium was not raked; there was no Vitruvian amphitheatre, only a small orchestra in which visibility was a problem. Spectators sitting on the oriental carpets on the two steps which ran around the auditorium would have the advantage of height, but their view might be restricted by the wings. Starting from the door, the first 10.4 meters (16 *braccia*) of the orchestra was laid out in rows of benches 1.3 meters (2 *braccia*) away from the steps all around, with a gangway along the middle almost 2 meters (3 *braccia*) wide: this disposition in two blocks at each side was intended to avoid the view being interrupted by the royal dais further forward. The chairs for the royal party were placed on this dais set across the theater [0.16 meters high (¼ *braccio*), 7.8 meters wide (12 *braccia*), and 2.6 meters deep (4 *braccia*)] with another smaller platform on top [0.16 meters high (¼ *braccio*), 3.9 meters wide (6 *braccia*) and 1.6 meters deep (2½ *braccia*)], and covered in tapestries. The king and queen were seated on the top platform; the princes and princesses on the lower. The space between this platform and the stage, about 3.25 meters (5 *braccia*), was spread with carpets, on which the ladies of court sat to watch the play without interrupting the royal line of sight. The position and height of the king's dais would also have been calculated in relation to the perspectives of the backcloth. Thus the arrangement of the seating allowed for a place of honor for the royal couple without unduly restricting the view of those seated on the benches in the orchestra behind them.

vii. Political considerations

The interior decoration of this theatre also raises questions of a political nature. The first concerns the position in all these preparations of Ippolito d'Este, who was no Florentine; and yet according to Brantôme

[41] Conegrani, fols. 244v–245.
[42] Ibid., fol. 244v.

it was he who had spent 10,000 *écus* putting on this play.[43] This is an important testimony, since it gives Ippolito all the credit for the event, and yet his name is absent from the *Particolare descritione*; more important still, his arms or color, green, appear nowhere in this decor, although executed in his own palace. The theme of the iconography of the ante-chamber, for instance, is that Lyon and Florence join in praising the king, with no place for Ferrara or anywhere else in Italy; the statues inside the theatre are also uniquely Tuscan. The only exception might be the motif of the dragons which provided the lighting, a possible allusion to Ippolito's devise, *Ab insomni non custodita draco.* This undermines the otherwise tidy hypothesis that Ippolito might have met the costs of the theatre while the Florentines paid for the play. We are left with an enigma, although with the probability that the whole undertaking was a collaborative effort between the colony and the cardinal.[44] We can, of course, surmise that in making his part of this major expenditure the value of any compliment made to the queen in the praise of her city and family was uppermost in Ippolito's mind.

This raises the second question of Florentine political coloring of the spectacle. The initiative for this play is ascribed to the Florentine community in Lyon, and the decoration of the auditorium contained elements of Florentine military and literary propaganda. Yet, in the whole of the Italian material for the week's entertainment of the king and queen, there was not a single reference to the current duke, Cosimo de' Medici, except for the statue of his father, Giovanni delle Bande Nere. This is in sharp contrast to the entry of Philip to Antwerp, where praise was repeatedly heaped on the grand duke. The simple explanation may be that Cosimo was an ally of the emperor, and that on imperial territory the Florentines, although they included many *fuorusciti*, felt it appropriate to praise him; on French territory, and at a period of intense rivalry between Charles V and Henri II, who in this entry is repeatedly promised succession to the empire, such praise of a creature of the emperor would sound a false note. Quite apart from considerations of tact, a majority of the Florentine colony in Lyon was composed of republican *fuorusciti*, whose families had been opposed to the régime of Alessandro de' Medici, and in turn to that of Cosimo, and so this exclusion may also reflect their political sympathies. However, times had moved on from the clearly-drawn partylines of the 1530's: these

[43] Brantôme, *Oeuvres*, 3:256.
[44] A view supported by Mitchell, "Firenze illustrissima," 997.

former *fuorusciti* merchants and bankers were also dependent on their current trade links with Florence, and thus on Cosimo's favor. It seems that an attempt was made in the Lyon festival to avoid controversy in that although no mention is made of the present occupant, the earlier Medici, the ancestors of both the queen and Cosimo, are praised as soldiers and patrons, and the father of each is immortalized in terracotta. This even-handed approach is reflected in a letter from Cosimo's agent in Lyon, the much-respected and long-established Lyonnais merchant Bartolommeo Panciatichi, who feels able to write to the duke describing the forthcoming play as "nostra commedia," as a Florentine rather than as a partisan initiative.[45]

12. *La Calandra*

Wednesday or Thursday, 26–27 September

The 1539 wedding celebrations of Cosimo I of Tuscany and Leonora di Toledo provided an important precedent for the inclusion of a comedy into an entry festival: here Antonio Landi's *Il Commodo,* embellished with *intermezzi* written by G. B. Strozzi, had been performed after a banquet,[1] and the Lyonnais performances were directly inspired by this festival. However, the 1549 Italian album attributes the idea for putting on a comedy in Lyon to the king himself, who requested it in early July, giving the Florentines the remarkably short space of six weeks to organize the comedy before his planned arrival in mid-August.[2] This is confirmed in part by the nuncio Dandino, who reported to Rome in mid-July that the Florentines were preparing a comedy and that the queen was anxious for Cardinal Farnese to come to Lyon to attend the festivities.[3] The album does not specify if the king asked for this particular play, but *La Calandra* was an appropriate choice for the occasion for a variety of reasons: it was on the repertoire of the Cazzuola company, and therefore ready at relatively short notice; the author Bibbiena had been papal ambassador to France, and was therefore not an unknown figure to older members of the court; Bibbiena had also been a protégé of the Medici, and could therefore be presented

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[45] AS Florence, *Mediceo*, 390, fol. 373.

[1] Giambullari, 65–70, including the text of the play.

[2] *Particolare descritione*, in F. M., fols. N3v–N4.

[3] Letter from Lyon, 13 July 1548, in Dandino, 347.

in the Italian commentary as an example of Medicean patronage;[4] and the play was widely known in a dozen Italian editions before 1548, and also by many performances throughout Italy, including analogous grandiose stagings at court with lavish decor, followed by banquets and balls.[5]

The appropriateness of the choice does not detract from the novelty of the event, which is underlined even in Scève's brief text.[6] Not only was this the first performance of *La Calandra* outside Italy, not to be repeated for another twenty years, when it was played in Munich; but it appears to have been the first performance abroad of any Italian *commedia erudita*, and it is equally clear that this staging marked the beginning of the activity and influence of Italian actors and plays in France.[7] The planners sent to Florence for actors including the famous Domenico Barlacchi,[8] an established actor proficient in both farce and humanist comedy, who with his troupe, *La Compagnia della Cazzuola*, had made a name for themselves performing not only *La Calandra* but comedies by Ariosto and Machiavelli.[9] According to witnesses, Barlacchi's particular skills lay in in his diction and gestures, which could transform even worthless lines, so that

> in bocca al Barlacchia parvero miracoli e dilettavano ancora i belli ingegni, non che gl'idioti, per l'aiuto de' gesti, della voce, della pronunzia.[10]

His visit to France is recorded in a contemporary volume of his *Facezie*:

> Fu il Barlacchia, oltre all'essere piacevole e faceto, eccellente dicitore a comedie, et massime facendo le parti di un vecchio, et per questo fu egli una volta chiamato in Francia dalla Regina, dove fu benissimo visto et largamente presentato.[11]

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[4] F. M., fol. N4.

[5] Moncallero, "Precisazioni," 819–51; Padoan, *Calandra*, 3–5, 35–36.

[6] He speaks for instance of material, "non encor usitee aux recitementz des Comedies," *Magnificence*, f° K3.

[7] A. Solerti, "La rappresentazione della *Calandria* a Lione nel 1548," in *Raccolta di studi critici dedicati ad Alessandro d'Ancona* (Florence, 1901), 698.

[8] *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Società grafica romana, 1960–), 6:398–99; Abd-el-Kader Salza, "Domenico Barlacchi araldo, attore e scapigliato fiorentino del secolo XVI," *Rassegna bibliografica della letteratura italiana*, 9 (1901): 27–33; Moncallero, "Precisazioni," 847–51; F. Pintor, "Ego Barlachia recensui," in *Giorn. stor. lett. ital.*, 39 (1902): 103–9.

[9] Vasari, *Opere*, 6:611–19.

[10] Salza, "Domenico Barlacchi," 28.

[11] *Facezie, motti, buffonerie et burle del Piovano Arlotto* (Florence: i Giunti, 1565, 8°),

A contemporary comic poem by the playwright Grazzini also mentions an unspecified absence of Barlacchi from Florence:

> E se i Vettori, i Barlacchi e i Visini / di là son iti a veder ballar l'orso;[12]

which probably gives us the names of other members of his company, whether or not in reference to this particular occasion.[13]

The witnesses give no account of the contents of the play itself: although the setting was changed to Florence, what little evidence we have suggests that the text of *La Calandra* was otherwise substantially unaltered. We see in the mentions of characters entering at the beginning of each act that they were the same ones as in Bibbiena's original, apart from the Nurse who in Lyon is given the name Tiresia; we also learn that the costumes were chosen to reflect Florentine fashion, apart from the Necromancer who was dressed *alla Grechesca*, and that the costumes were made of rich materials, such as cloth of gold and cloth of silver brocaded with gold.

If the five acts of the play were probably unamended, the same cannot be said for the rest of the evening's four hour entertainment. The original 1513 performance in Urbino was punctuated by mythological interludes, probably written by Castiglione himself, which formed a continuous piece in themselves.[14] The first enacted the story of Jason and the dragon's teeth, symbolizing the coming of war to the earth. In the three following *intermezzi*, each portraying a god in triumphal fiery chariot, the audience saw how Love reconquers the world and brings back concord: first the Earth itself in the chariot of Venus drawn by doves; then the Sea, in the chariot of Neptune drawn by seahorses; and finally the Air, in the chariot of Juno, drawn by peacocks. The performance was concluded with a postlude and with a song in praise of Love acompanied by viols. A major feature of these interludes, the music of which Castiglione described as "biz-

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131–32. Does this mean that Barlacchia played not Calandro himself but an older character like Ruffo or Polinico? On this visit see also M. Plaisance, "La politique culturelle de Côme Ier et les fêtes annuelles à Florence," in J. Jacquot, ed. *Les fêtes de la Renaissance* (Paris: C. N. R. S., 1975), 3:147.

[12] From A. F. Grazzini, detto il Lasca, *Rime burlesche*, ed. Verzone (Florence, 1882), 432, cited by Salza, "Domenico Barlacchi," 27; the same source asserts that Miglior Visini had died by 1550, Plaisance, "La politique culturelle," 3:148.

[13] Dobbins, *Music*, 112, asserts that the company which performed at Lyon was that of the *Gelosi* led by Francesco Andrini.

[14] See Padoan, *Calandra*, 206, lines 17–18.

zarre,"[15] had in fact been the ballet: in the first interlude two *moresche* were danced, followed by two *brandi*.[16]

To emulate in Lyon this important component of the Urbino performance, Conegrani tells us, although this is not acknowledged by F. M., that Luigi Alamanni,[17] cupbearer to the queen, was commissioned to write new *intermezzi* appropriate to the occasion, the text of which is preserved in the album. For the structure, Alamanni was inspired by Strozzi's framework for *Il Commodo*, in which the interludes follow the course of the day from the opening song of Aurora to the closing song of Notte.[18] Similarly, a member of the Florentine colony, Piero Mannucci or Mannucciqua,[19] organist of the Tommaso Guadagni's chapel of Notre-Dame-du-Confort in the *Église des Jacobins*, was given the task of composing and conducting the music for these six interludes, music which regrettably does not appear to be extant. Mannucci/qua set Alamanni's verses to music, to be sung either by the actors or from behind the scenes, either as solos or in four- or five-part madrigals, using different combinations of voices and instruments for each intermezzo. His orchestra consisted of two spinets, four gamba viols, five lutes, four transvers flutes, three crumhorns, three trombones, and two cornets.

At the opening of proceedings the spectators' first view was of the Florentine *piazza*, in which the illusion of bustle was created by the use of machines: various cardboard figures of passers-by, including gardeners, a sweep, a horseman, and a young couple, were drawn mechanically across the stage.[20] This same technique was used at the end of each interlude to usher in a new act, with various figures of clowns, dwarves, and fools, recognizable to the public as portraits of court entertainers, pulled across the set. This business was accompanied each time by the repetition from behind the scenes of the speech from the previous *intermezzo*, sung to a changing combination of instruments.

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[15] Ibid., 205, line 11.

[16] Ibid., 205–6.

[17] Conegrani, fol. 246.

[18] Giambullari, 65–66, 168–70; on Florentine models and parallels for these intermezzi see B. Mitchell, "Les intermèdes au service de l'état," in J. Jacquot, ed. *Les fêtes de la Renaissance* (Paris: C. N. R. S., 1975), 3:117–31.

[19] The spacing of the text, F. M., fol. Pv, makes it unclear if he is "Piero Mannucciqua organista della Natione Fiorentina," or (better?) "Piero Mannucci qua organista della Natione Fiorentina"; he may be a relation of the contemporary Florentine composers Giovanni and Paolo Animuccia; cf. Dobbins, *Music*, 113–16; *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome: Società grafica italiana, 1960–), 3:328–32.

[20] Not reported in the album, but see Conegrani, fol. 245.

The curtain then fell to usher in the first interlude, that of Aurora, dressed in white and silver according to Conegrani,[21] or in a red silk costume decorated with gold flowers and a multicolored belt and wings according to F. M.[22] She was seated in a golden chariot trimmed in red and white, drawn by two Gallic cockerels made of cardboard or canvas covered in feathers, animated by children inside.[23] Dawn was given a song to sing in eleven- and seven-syllable lines announcing the arrival of Apollo to the accompaniment of spinets and recorders, while behind the scenes other actors imitated the calls of cockerels and birds.[24] Similar tricks were used in the epilogue, where Night's song was accompanied by the night-birds flying past and by imitations of their songs.

If the role of Aurora was inspired by G. B. Strozzi, that of Apollo was clearly suggested to Alamanni by an earlier episode in the Medicean wedding, a long interlude written by G. B. Gelli involving the god with a chorus of muses: as in Lyon, Apollo sang two songs to the monarch accompanying himself on a lyre.[25] The 1549 appearance of Apollo allowed F. M. to indulge his talent for describing costumes. He revels in giving details of the colors, materials, and cut of those worn by Apollo and by the four actresses representing the Four Ages who accompanied him. Apollo's colors were red and gold; the Age of Iron wore silver and tan, with a wolf's head for a helmet, and held a rake and a scythe; the Age of Bronze wore gold and bronze, with a lion's head; the Age of Silver wore pearls as well as silver, and carried loaves as an attribute; and the Age of Gold carried a honeycomb. Apollo's long song to the king, written in hendecasyllables and sung to the lyre, introduced the structure of the interludes, presented the Four Ages, and flattered Henri, who ruled over the Golden Age, with the idea that the sun should have wished to come down to gaze upon him.

However, the content of this Apollo episode as given by F. M. is not what was actually performed; even Scève's very sketchy version disagrees with the Italian text, speaking of seven Ages instead of four. The witness Conegrani confirms this number in describing the original version: he records no role for Apollo until later in the framework, but describes the Age of Gold coming on after Aurora's scene, accompanied

[21] Ibid., fol 245r–v.
[22] F. M., fol. Nv.
[23] Ibid., fol. Nv; Conegrani, fol. 245v.
[24] F. M., fol. Nv–N2; Conegrani, fol. 245v.
[25] Giambullari, 31–44.

by the Seven Liberal Arts; the eight actresses thereupon asked Henri to welcome them into his kingdom.[26] It is clear that either F. M., or more likely Alamanni himself, rewrote this part for the Italian album, preferring to introduce Apollo earlier, eliminate the Liberal Arts and concentrate on the Four Ages.

F. M. places next the speech of the Prologue, substituted for the two alternative speeches provided by Bibbiena, as well as for the one written by Castiglione for the Urbino performance: it is a tedious mixture of flattery and apology, and is not mentioned either by Conegrani or by Scève himself. Conegrani places here a musical interlude of voices and instruments which led straight into the play.[27] In F. M.'s version the *argomento* followed, no doubt from the original text, amended to accommodate the change of setting. At the end of each of Acts 1–4, F. M. places the *intermezzi* for the Ages in ascending order. However, Conegrani, having placed the Age of Gold *before* Act 1, then has Silver, Bronze, and Lead, in that order, at the end of Acts 1–3,[28] bringing the Four Ages back in Act 4. Again we may suspect that Alamanni and F. M. amended the text for publication.

In the final published version, the first four interludes have artistic symmetry, featuring each Age in turn accompanied by three allegorical companions, whose costumes and attributes are described in detail. Iron was escorted by Cruelty, dressed in green and orange to look reptilian; by Avarice, decked out with purses; and by Envy, in green, eating snakes.[29] Iron offers to change her ways and help the king conquer the world. The Age of Bronze followed Act Two accompanied by Fortitude in gold, red, and yellow, carrying a broken column;[30] by Fame decorated with eyes, ears, and tongues, with winged feet[31] and carrying a long trumpet;[32] and by Vengeance in red and gold, with bears' feet[33] and carrying a bloody dagger. Bronze offers to help the king emulate Hercules in defeating monsters and conquering the world. The Age of Silver was escorted by Ceres dressed in green bedecked with ears of corn and

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[26] Conegrani, fol. 245v.

[27] Ibid., fol. 245v.

[28] Ibid., fols. 245v–46.

[29] Tervarent, col. 167–68, 405–6.

[30] Ibid., col. 106–7.

[31] Unusual attribute for Fame, perhaps indicating the speed of transmission, ibid., col. 367–69.

[32] Ibid., col. 387–88

[33] Symbol of anger, ibid., col. 292.

carrying a cornucopia;[34] by the shepherd god Pales enveloped in skins; and by Agriculture dressed in earthy brown embroidered with trees and plants. Silver offers Henri long life, peace, and offspring. The fourth *intermezzo* featured the Age of Gold, whose companions were Peace dressed in white carrying a staff topped by two clasped hands;[35] Justice in the royal colors of silver and black, carrying the usual attributes of sword and scales; and Religion in silver and gold with a white veil and carrying the tablets of the Law. Gold makes the king an offer he can scarcely refuse: peace, honor, justice, faith, and all the gods coming down to live with him into the bargain. However, according to Conegrani, the first version of this interlude involved Apollo judging between the Four Ages and banishing all but Gold, the Age over which Henri will reign.[36]

There is agreement about the last *intermezzo*, which featured Apollo with the Age of Gold and her companions.[37] In his four stanzas addressed to the king, Apollo announces the end of the reign of Iron, Mars, and War, and reiterates the promises made to him by Gold in her earlier speech. The scene is then set for the Age of Gold to present Catherine with the golden gift prepared for her, which, as we have seen, celebrated Henri's use of the active virtues of Prudence, Justice, and Fortitude to conquer the world and to subjugate Fortune. It is interesting to note that these three virtues do not, as has been thought,[38] correspond to the qualities embodied in the three companions of the Age of Gold, Peace, Justice, and Religion, and evoked in Gold's speech. Peace and Religion will be the consequence of Henri's triumph, not its means, and may be reflected in the perfume given off from the vase inside the globe.

To present the gift, Gold and her companions went down by the hidden staircase built on the front of the stage. Her speech, the longest of all in the interludes, offers to Henri her fealty and that of her companions, Justice, Peace, and Religion: the deeds of his reign will surpass those recorded in ancient literature, and he will be rewarded with long life and abundant progeny. To Catherine Gold entrusted the role of bringing peace to Italy, while stressing throughout the close association of Florence and France, with their red and gold lilies. She also com-

[34] Symbols of fertility, ibid., col. 120, 158.

[35] Symbol of an oath or of concord, ibid., col. 258–60.

[36] Conegrani, fol. 246.

[37] Ibid., fol. 246.

[38] Padoan, *Calandra*, 231–341.

ments on the origin of the *fleur-de-lys*, interweaving two legends: that of an angel having told Clovis to replace the crescents on his shield with lilies; and that which held that this symbol had derived from an earlier one of a toad, the "animal indegno" of her song.[39] The play concluded with a epilogue to match the opening speech of Dawn, once again inspired by the 1539 Medicean festival: Night, from a four-wheeled chariot drawn by children dressed as owls,[40] with everything colored black except for her crown of stars and a silver crescent, sings the final short poem about the restful onset of darkness.[41]

It is scarcely surprising that F. M., and even Scève in his cursory account, should express the view that the play had been a success, but this judgement was also confirmed by the more disinterested witnesses Denis Sauvage and especially Conegrani who report an enthusiastic reception of the play itself, the set, the costumes, the *intermezzi*, and especially of the acting.[42] Nor was this to be a short-lived triumph: the lasting impression made upon the French public of this Italian humanist comedy is recorded by Brantôme, who notes witnesses describing it as

> chose que l'on n'avoit encores veu, et rare en France, car paradvant on ne parloit que des farceurs, de connardz de Rouan, de joueurs de la Basoche, et autres sortes de badins et joueurs de badinages, farces, mommeries et sotteries, mesme qu'il n'y avoit pas longtemps que ces belles tragédies et gentiles comédies avoient esté inventées, jouées et représentées en Italie.

He confirms a similar welcome by spectators for the novel acting style of the Italians:

> J'ay ouy dire à plusieurs seigneurs et dames, que si la tragi-comédie de ce grand Cardinal fut belle, elle fut aussi très-bien représentée par les comédiens et comédientes, qui estoient très belles, parloient très-bien et de fort bonne grâce, et estoit accompagné de force intermedies et faintes, qu'ils contenterent infiniment le roy, la reyne et toute leur court.[43]

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[39] C. Fauchet, *Origine des chevaliers, armoiries et heraux* (Paris: J. Perier, 1600, 8°), fol. 17v; misinterpreted by Padoano, *Calandra*, 234.

[40] Tervarent, col. 74, 97.

[41] Conegrani, fol. 246; in Florence the audience had then been rudely awakened by a chorus of wild Bacchants, Giambullari, 168–70.

[42] Sauvage in appendix F.; Conegrani, fol. 245v.

[43] Brantôme, *Oeuvres*, 3:256–58.

Perhaps the clearest evidence of the play's success lies in the fact that the king and the whole court wished to see it again, that they came unexpectedly to the second performance arranged on the Friday evening for the citizens of Lyon. The arrival of the court must have displaced many would-be spectators, and yet a third staging had to be put on, after the royal party had left, on the Monday evening.[44] As a consequence of this success the actors themselves were able to take back to Florence a more material token of their triumph: purses of 500 and of 300 *écus* given to their company by the king and by Catherine.

13. *The Naumachia*

Thursday, 27 September

It was probably on the Thursday that the elaborately planned battle took place on the Saône between the two galleys and their escorts, which according to Sauvage so pleased the court; Scève places it in the late afternoon.[1] According to Scève, the galleys built by the *consulat* were clearly distinguished by their contrasting shapes and by their different color schemes: one painted and fitted out in white, black, and red, and escorted by two smaller galleys in the same colors; and the other galley and its escort in white and green. Since the civic accounts record deliveries of white, green, and black material for the galleys,[2] we may prefer this evidence to that of Conegrani, who simply describes them as being in the royal colors of white and black.[3] A number of other smaller vessels completed the escort on each side. Musicians were procured to play throughout the visit on the galleys,[4] which were also equipped with artillery for the river-battles.[5]

Scève takes great trouble over the description of these vessels, devoting two pages to technical naval and military vocabulary. Salomon underlines the episode's importance by producing for it the only double-page engravings in the album, followed by a third engraving for the royal bucentaur: like Scève he presents the two galleys with features of contemporary ships and also of ancient Roman vessels, and we do not

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[44] *Magnificence,* fol. L4r–v.
[1] Appendix F.
[2] Lyon, arch. com., CC 987, no. 2; Guigue, 327–28.
[3] Conegrani, fol 244.
[4] Lyon, arch. com., CC 980, no. 15; CC 981, nos. 2–3, 5; Guigue, 297–301, 317–18.
[5] Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, no. 254; CC 982, no. 41; Guigue, 182, 338.

have to look far to find the source. There are several parallels in Scève's description as well as in the two woodcuts with the study prepared for the king by Du Choul, *De re nautica*,[6] in which the antiquarian attempts, in the wake of Lazare de Baïf, to reconstruct from Roman reliefs the form of Roman ships, while at times adapting them to modern taste. For instance, the manuscript even contains a reconstruction of a Roman galleon decorated with the devices of Henri II.[7] The voluted prow and poop and the niche-like cabin of the Lyonnais galleys strongly resemble those of several of Du Choul's Roman galleons, biremes, and galleys;[8] and the sea-monster's head on the prow of the white and green galley echoes that on another Roman ship,[9] as do the multiple arrow-headed rams[10] and the snake and goat's heads raised on curved brackets above each prow.[11]

In his description Scève is at pains to stress the classical features of both the galley's design and the crew's outfits, but is obliged to admit that other elements are more fantastic and novel in inspiration. The shape of the hull and the rigging derive more from a galliass, and the decorative motifs of lanterns, grotesques, lions' heads, masks, and reliefs of the labors of Hercules all reflect contemporary artistic taste. The vessels were manned by crews wearing distinctive colors, the first in red, the second in green, among whom were the two bands of gladiators seen earlier in the week, who were now to show their skills in naval combat. Although the galleys mimicked classical style, the weapons the soldiers carried, including modern pikes and lances, were neither Roman nor historical in inspiration,[12] and historical versimilitude was further compromised in the ample artillery carried on board.

Scève devotes two more pages to the description of the naumachia. The two galleys and their escorts set out from the *port des Augustins* where they had been built, artillery blazing and musicians blaring. One fleet took up its station downstream towards Ainay, the other upstream by the bridge, while the king's own bucentaur (once he had been extracted from the tennis court) moored in between, level with the

[6] G. du Choul, *De re nautica*, unpublished manuscript in the University of Minnesota Library.

[7] Ibid., fol. 3.

[8] E.g., ibid., fols. 3, 8v, 10v, 12v, 13v, 16v, 21v.

[9] Ibid., fol. 9v.

[10] Ibid., fols. 3v, 6v, 18v, 20v, 26v.

[11] Ibid., fols. 3v, 18v.

[12] *Magnificence*, fol. K4; Conegrani, fol. 244v.



Jousting on the river

cathedral, to give the royal party and the flotilla of courtiers the best possible view. Numerous other vessels put out containing spectators including the *consulat* and the *enfants de la ville*,[13] and the riverbanks were lined with the vast crowds who had turned out to watch.

Scève gives far more details than Conegrani[14] of the maneuvers of the two galleys during the naumachia. There were three principal movements: in the first phase the two fleets engaged in arc formation, led by the galleys, making use of rams and of boarding parties of gladiators; in the second stage each galley disengaged only to be attacked by the opposing pair of escorting frigates, whom they successfully beat off; finally, battle was joined between the two escorts with the galleys in support, and the introduction of light artillery eventually sank one escort of the green fleet. Those overboard were picked up or swam to safety,[15] and the victory was marked by pandemonium, with all the musicians sounding, and the firing of the full artillery of combatants and spectators alike, giving Scève an opportunity to show off his pyrotechnic vocabulary.

Dusk was falling and dinner beckoned upstream at the *Couvent de l'Observance;* the whole armada accompanied the royal bucentaur northwards and waited for the meal to finish. In a colorful gloss Scève observes that the number of vessels was so great

> que les poissons se pouvoient dire couvertz, comme soubz l'umbrage d'une crouste de glace contenant uniment tout le dessus de la riviere.[16]

Two hours later, at 7 pm., the bucentaur rejoined the fleet, which rowed back by torchlight on a calm moonless night towards the *port de Saint-Jean*, where a ball was planned. However, a surprise awaited the visitors as they passed beneath the *château de Pierre-Scize*, as they were treated to a monumental firework and artillery display, coming from both the castle and the two galleys. Scève's pen is inspired by the subject, as he conveys to his readers the contrast between the silence of the night and the thunder of the ordnance, the echo of the guns booming off the hills to each side, the effect of the rockets and catherine-wheels, and the reflection of the fireworks in the river which was so bright

[13] *Magnificence*, fol. K4v.
[14] Conegrani, fol. 244v.
[15] Ibid., fol. 244v.
[16] *Magnificence*, fol. L3.

> qu'il sembloit à chascun que toute la riviere ardist et tous les bateaux fussent en feu: ce qui feit belle peur à plusieurs, et mesme à telz qui crioient et se gettoient aux fons des bateaux avec grandissime risee et plaisir des plus asseurez regardantz.[17]

After dinner on the Sunday evening, a naval battle and firework display were staged at 7 pm., as the final entertainment of the royal stay in Lyon. Scève enthusiastically describes the battle of a ship with four castles on its deck against the two great galleys, which ended with the great ship being burned in a burst of pyrotechnics. According to Guéraud Ippolito d'Este had fitted out the ship, and we note that its figurehead was a dragon, as in the cardinal's *devise*. However, even Scève has to admit that the effect was spoiled by clouds and rain, while the less charitable Guéraud dismisses the ship and spectacle as having been unimpressive.[18]

The descriptions of all these events on the river during the royal visit, the jousting, the naumachia, the fireworks, and the final riverbattle on the Sunday evening, are among the most colorful pieces of writing in Scève's repertoire, foreshadowing his dramatic and descriptive prowess in the *Microcosme*.

14. *The Feast of Saint-Michel*

Friday to Sunday, 28–30 September

The Friday was a day for second showings of earlier entertainments highlights. In the afternoon the king requested a repeat of the combat of gladiators, which he had admired during his own entry to the city, but which had been omitted from the queen's entry. For the queen's benefit, and for the renewed pleasure of a king fascinated by the martial arts and matters chivalric, the gladiators performed again, this time indoors in the ballroom of the *Archevêché*. This spectacle lasted until vespers. After the religious service the king and court decided to attend another repeat, a second performance of *La Calandra*, which had been intended for those who had not found a seat the first time, and who once again found themselves displaced by bluer blood.

In between these two entertainments came a ceremony of major

[17] Ibid., fol. L3v.

[18] Guéraud, 48.

importance which marked the watershed between the antiquarian flavor of the earlier part of the week and the religious chivalric theme of the weekend. The king had planned for some time to celebrate Michaelmas in Lyon:[1] he had also decided, however, to resurrect this year the ceremonial designed by Louis XI for the order of Saint-Michel, a ritual which Henri's father had allowed to lapse.[2] He was particularly devoted to this chivalric order, and about this time he had their statutes reprinted on vellum[3] or copied on to illuminated manuscripts for presentation to eminent new members.[4] In accordance with these statutes the king summoned the members of the order to celebrate Michaelmas with him, beginning on the eve of the festival, Friday, with solemn sung vespers in full regalia. Henri II modified the uniform originally prescribed by Louis XI, and it was worn for the first time at the 1548 meeting, now comprising white shoes and breeches, a full-length gold-bordered costume of cloth of silver split down the side, worn with the collar of the order, a black cap, and a hood of crimson velvet embroidered in gold.[5] Thus arrayed, the king and sixteen other knights processed to the cathedral in a grand parade led by the Swiss guards with their fifes and tabours, followed by 100 *gentilshommes* of the royal household. The four officers of the order came next in costumes distinguished by the absence of a gold border: the usher bearing a silver-gilt mace with king's arms, the herald, the clerk, and the master of ceremonies, each wearing the collar.[6] Then came the Cardinal de Guise as chancellor of the order, wearing a variation of the costume, a short white velvet vestment and the crimson velvet hood,[7] leading in the sixteen knights of the order in pairs in ascending rank of nobility, finishing with Vendôme and Guise.[8]

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[1] E.g., Dandino's report for 27 July, Dandino, 353–54.

[2] Conegrani, fol. 246v; cf. Rubys, *Histoire*, 375.

[3] *Le livre des ordonnances des chevaliers de l'ordre du roy Louis XI[e] à l'honneur de sainct Michel* (Paris, 1550?, 4°); BL, C. 10. a. 16; C. 29. e. 3.

[4] See the two in *Livres d'heures royaux: la peinture de manuscrits à la cour de France au temps de Henri II*, ed. M. D. Orth (Paris: Édition de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1993), 36–38.

[5] Conegrani, fol. 246v; Alvarotto, 1 Oct., busta 25, fol. 205; cf. Guéraud, 46–47.

[6] Conegrani, fol. 246v; Guéraud, 47, names the Seneschal d'Agenais as provost, Bochetel as secretary, and Villeroy as treasurer.

[7] Alvarotto, 1 Oct., busta 25, fol. 205.

[8] Named by Guéraud, 47: La Guiche and Jean de Bourbon d'Enghien; Jacques de Saint-André and La-Roche-sur-Yon; La Chambre and Brissac; Lorge and Montravel; La Mirandola and Maugyron; Jean de Saint-André and Claude de Boisy; Canapples and Montpensier; Antoine de Vendôme-Bourbon and François de Guise: Scève states there were 18 knights present.

The procession was rounded off by the king, wearing a grander version of the knight's costume, escorted by a group of cardinals;[9] they all made their way to the choir of Saint-Jean, where they found the queen, the ladies of the court, and the diplomatic corps waiting on a dais near the altar. In imitation of the knights' costume, the queen and ladies were wearing white or cloth of silver.[10]

In accordance with the statutes, the chapter of the order held a meeting: one illuminated manuscript of the statutes, belonging to Cardinal de Guise, depicts the knights in their new finery at a chapter meeting before 1550 which is probably the one held in Lyon.[11] Each of the knights had to leave the room while his conduct during the previous year was discussed by his colleagues, the king being assessed last;[12] at some stage during the ceremonies the newly elected members of the order were also admitted. This year two Frenchmen had been chosen, Gabriel de La Guiche, the governor of Bresse and Bugey, and Paul de La Barthe, sieur de Termes, fresh from his successful mission to Scotland. But the Scottish connection, uppermost in the king's mind as the marriage was negotiated between the dauphin and Mary queen of Scots, was further accentuated by the nomination to the order of Saint-Michel of three prominent Scots nobles: Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, governor of Edinburgh, and high chancellor of Scotland; Archibald Campbell, earl of Argyll, chancellor of Scotland; and Gabriel Gordon, earl of Huntly.[13] All had been associated with the negotiations of the marriage or with the war against the English, notably the siege of Haddington.

The ceremonial of the order continued on the Saturday, Michaelmas, when all the knights processed again among large crowds to attend High Mass at the cathedral, celebrated by the archishop of Vienne, Pierre Palmier. Conegrani observes that the rules of precedence were changed from the previous day, with noble rank giving way to seniority in the order.[14] After Mass the whole order met on both the Saturday and the Sunday for lunch in the *grand'salle* of the *Archevêché*, with the king placed at a high table and the knights seated at two tables on each side

[9] Bourbon, Vendôme, Lorraine and Ferrara.

[10] Conegrani, fol. 246v.

[11] BM Saint-Germain-en-Laye, MS 4 (R 40 531), f° 11; *Livres d'heures royaux*, p. 36.

[12] Le Comte de Colleville and F. de Saint-Christo, *Les ordres du Roi* (Paris, 1924), pp. viii–ix.

[13] Ibid., 84.

[14] Conegrani, fol. 246v; cf. Guéraud, 48 who gives more details of the Mass.

of him.[15] On the Saturday afternoon the statutes again prescribed attendance at vespers, this time wearing mourning for the former members of the order who had died. For this service all dressed in black capes and hoods, and the whole court attended, including the ladies and the diplomatic corps, with the exception of the Portuguese ambassador who had quarrelled with his English counterpart, Nicholas Wotton, over precedence.[16] The Sunday saw another High Mass in Saint-Jean, *la Messe des Regrets* for the souls of the dead members of the order, after which the king touched those suffering from scrofula, as was his custom on feast days and as he had done in Turin for the Assumption, and then proceeded to lunch. The day was completed by a final river-battle and firework display.

On the Monday morning the king made a final tour of the city which had lodged and entertained him for a week,[17] and then after lunch the court left Lyon, heading for a hunting interlude at La Côte Saint-André and then for Moulins, where the marriage ceremonies were to take place.[18] Some of the administration remained behind, and a further performance of *La Calandra* was put on for the *grand conseil* and for those who had not managed to get in to the earlier shows. According to Guéraud the people of Lyon were not sorry to see the court depart, "pour les insollences et fascheryes que les gens de cour avoient faict icy au tour."[19]

15. *Accounts of the Entry*

We have seen that apart from the printed accounts there are several descriptions of the entry and visit to Lyon in diplomatic correspondences which allow us to view critically Scève's own album. By far the most detailed is that from the Mantuan ambassador, Giorgio Conegrani,[1] who sent his master the duke a twenty-four page dispatch giving details of the whole week's events, which contains numerous divergences from Scève's account, indicating that the poet made changes both in the

[15] Alvarotto, 1 Oct., AS Modena, busta 25, fol. 205.

[16] Ibid., fol. 205; Conegrani, fol. 246v; Guéraud, 48; unfortunately Wotton's papers in London give no account of the week's events.

[17] Alvarotto, 1 Oct., busta 25, fol. 205v.

[18] Giustiniano, fol. 236, 2 Oct.; Conegrani, fol. 246v.

[19] Guéraud, 48.

[1] Appendix A.

inscriptions and in the suppression of vernacular material in writing up his album. The Ferrarese ambassador, Giulio Alvarotto, sent a less detailed account concentrating more on the role of the duke's brother, Ippolito.[2] The Venetian envoy, Francesco Giustiniano, is helpful about the tour of Piedmont but adds little to our knowledge of the entry.[3] The Florentines did not have a permanent representative at court during the autumn of 1548 and unfortunately no diplomatic report exists, although we have a letter from the Florentine agent Bartolommeo Panciatichi.[4] The imperial ambassador Saint-Mauris makes no mention of the events, although his successor was to describe the entries of both Paris and Rouen. As to other manuscript sources, the diary of the Lyonnais citizen Jean Guéraud, who had inside information through his nephew, the magistrate Tignac, is an invaluable account, which is given here in an appendix, as copies of the 1929 edition are rare.[5]

We come therefore to the printed accounts. Although it was not yet an established practice in France to publish accounts of major royal entries—scarcely any entries made during Henri's 1548–49 tour were printed—it was clear from an early stage that this visit to Lyon would be recorded in print. On Tuesday, 25 September, not half-way through the stay, Bartolommeo Panciatichi wrote to Florence that a published version was due, promising to send it:

> Ei della villa doveranno fare stampare questa entrata per apunto, quel poi vi manderò aciò la veggiate distinta.[6]

We have no precise evidence of when the first printed *bulletins* appeared. There is an entry in the diary of Jean Guéraud mentioning that a printed version of the visit existed:

> entree ... qui fust autant magnifique, riche, triumphante qu'autre qui fust jamais faicte à Roy de France, comme se pourra veoir par l'ordre d'icelle qui s'est imprimé.[7]

However, while we might expect that this diary entry was written soon after the event and therefore refers to some early printed report, the fact that the terms "magnificence" and "triumphante" appear on Scève's

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[2] Appendix B.
[3] Appendix C.
[4] Appendix D.
[5] Appendix E.
[6] AS Florence, *Mediceo* 390, fol. 373r–v.
[7] Guéraud, 44.

title-page make it possible that Guéraud had that particular account in mind. We are also not helped by the imperial ambassador, who sent a printed account back to Spain:

> Je vous envoye pour passer votre temps l'entree du Roy à Lyon imprimee.[8]

Since this letter dates from 10 January 1549, a fortnight before the privilege of Scève's album and before the woodcuts were completed, we cannot tell to which account Saint-Mauris refers here; it seems late for *Le grand triumphe* and early for Scève, unless the ambassador obtained an advance copy.

The normal practice would be for a local printer to produce a brief *bulletin* as a rush job in order to profit from the short-term market created by the publicity of the entry. No such Lyonnais editions have yet been traced, but it seems certain that they were indeed printed, but were then suppressed at the insistance of the *consulat*. In late November, two months after the entry, the *consulat* minutes record a discussion about printed accounts of the festivities:

> Pour ce que d'aucuns ont faict imprimer les entrees du roy et de la royne, où ilz n'ont mys la verité du faict, a esté prié le[d] Humbert de Massod de parler à mons[r] Seve, qui a conduict la[d] entree, pour la coucher au vray et, ce faict, la faire imprimer au vray.[9]

Thus we know that by 22 November, printed accounts had appeared which incurred the *consulat*'s disapproval. Scève and the *capitaine de la ville*, who had organized the parade, laid a formal complaint before the muncipality on 21 December, a full three months after the entry, stating their grounds for dissatisfaction and requesting the seizure of the offending *bulletins*:

> Mons[r] m[e] Maurice Seve et mons[r] le capitaine Jehan Salla ont remonstré comme il y a certains imprimeurs qui ont faict imprimer en ceste ville les entrees du roy et de la royne, en laquelle impression il y a plusieurs faultes, obmissions, mensonges, qui redonde au grand deshonneur de la ville, mesmes dudict Seve qui a conduict et par l'adviz duquel ont estez dresseez les ystoires et

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[8] Saint-Mauris-Juan Vasquez de Molina, Poissy, 10 Jan. 1549, Arch. Simancas K. 1488, no. 16.

[9] Lyon, arch. com., BB 68, fol. 269, 22 Nov. 1548; Guigue, 187; Baudrier, 9:79; Saulnier, 1:339 and n. 107.

> autres triumphes des[d] entrees; lequel Seve, despuys, auroit prins la poyne de rediger à la verité par escript les[d] entrees et icelles feroit imprimer à l'honneur de la[d] ville, s'il plaisoit au consulat rembourser l'imprimeur des fraiz qu'il conviendra faire pour faire tailler les ystoires et figures. Sur quoy, la matiere bien et au long debatue, actendu que ce sera l'honneur de la[d] ville que les[d] entrees soyent imprimees au vray, a esté ordonné fournir à l'imprimeur qui les imprimera, pour les fraiz des[d] ystoires qu'il fera tailler, la somme de dix escuz d'or soleil, dont a esté passé mandement sur sire Jehan de La Porte, commys à tenir le compte des fraiz des[d] entrees, à la charge toutesfoys que, avant que les faire imprimer, le[d] Seve les communicquera aus[d] s[rs] conseillers et consulat; et seront faictz commandementz à ceulx qui ont imprimé les[d] entrees cy-devant qu'ilz ayent à les brusler, comme imprimees contre verité et sans auctorité de justice.[10]

We learn therefore that the grounds of complaint were inaccuracy, omission, and *lèse-poète*, and that the remedy sought was suppression of the earlier accounts and replacement by the album which Scève had apparently composed during November and December, to be illustrated with woodcuts not yet made, for which a subvention of ten *écus* was sought, a highly unusual request. The privilege accorded to Scève's album in January 1549 confirms these accusations, adding further charges of altering the order of events and of publication without a printer's mark,[11] while insisting that these unauthorized accounts had brought dishonor to the city at large and to the organizers of the entry in particular.

How far can these complaints be substantiated? Although no rival accounts published in Lyon have been traced, various Paris editions survive, all giving substantially the same text which we may safely assume to derive from one of the lost Lyonnais editions. One Paris edition bears the mark of Abel Langelier,[12] another that of Gilles de Gourmont;[13] a lost one that of Germain de la Fosse,[14] while only one has no print-

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[10] Lyon, arch. com., BB 68, fol. 287v, 21 Dec. 1548; Rolle, 431–33; Guigue, 188–89; Baudrier, 9:79; Saulnier, 1:339 and n. 108.

[11] *Magnificence*, fol. A1v; Saulnier, 1:340.

[12] *Le grand triumphe faict à l'entree du treschrestien et tousiours victorieux Monarche, Henry second de ce nom, Roy de France, en sa noble ville et cité de Lyon, et de la royne Katherine son espouse* (Paris: for A. L'Angelier, 1548, 8°); see *Bibliography* for these editions.

[13] *Le grand triumphe* (Paris: for G de Gourmont, 1548, 8°).

[14] Cited by Rolle, 432 n. 2.

er's name;[15] thus the accusation of lack of a printer's mark cannot be levelled at most of the Paris albums, but may have been true of their Lyonnais model or models. The Paris editions also cannot be viewed as clandestine, since those of Langelier and Gourmont bear royal privileges of six and twelve months, respectively. As for the date of these *bulletins*, they all bear the year 1548, which may mean any time before Easter 1549. However, since the key to financial success in such newsletters was topicality and speed of publication, it is highly unlikely that they appeared more than a few weeks after the entry at most.

The only way we can consider the more substantial charges of inaccuracy and omission is by comparing Scève's album with the Paris editions, with the working hypothesis that the latter contain the material to which Scève and the *consulat* objected. These accounts are manifestly shorter than Scève's, and therefore omit much of the detail, notably concerning the later days of the week which are only summarily treated, as if in haste to publish. Thus there is little about the ships, the river spectacles, and the Michaelmas commemoration; there is nothing at all about the tennis court, the Florentine comedy and theatre, the lunch at Rontalon, or the role of Ippolito d'Este. But nothing very substantial is omitted from the events of the parade for the king's entry, except for the combat of the gladiators (which no diplomatic witness mentions either). The author of *Le grand triumphe* was no humanist, and although he valiantly recorded some of the inscriptions, his Latin is at times faulty; similarly he shows limited interest in the architecture or the iconography. A reader of *Le grand triumphe* would therefore have an insufficient impression of the lavishness and allusiveness of the decor, and of the political message of the monuments and *mystères*; above all, such a reader would not be aware of the novelty of the whole festival's style. Thus, to judge by *Le grand triumphe*, the charge of *mensonges* levelled by Scève is unsubstantiated: omission, yes; distortion, no.

Suspicion lurks that there was more to the indignation of Scève and the *consulat* than meets the eye. There are other examples of multiple accounts of similar ceremonies: the *Sciomachie*, which took place in Rome the following year, was first described in an Italian *avviso*, which then appeared in two French editions before Rabelais' own version was published;[16] and the 1549 royal entry to Paris was described in different accounts,[17] as was the 1550 entry to Rouen.[18] In no case does

[15] *Le grand triumphe* (Paris: no printer, 8°).

[16] See R. A. Cooper, *Rabelais et l'Italie* (Geneva: Droz, 1991), 61–66, 212–16.

[17] See McFarlane, 86–89.

there seem to have been an attempt to suppress other versions. Why then such touchiness on this occasion? A factor to be taken into account is the long delay, four months, in producing an official account: even Rabelais' account of the *Sciomachie*, which had to be sent from Rome to Lyon for printing, still appeared within six weeks. If the *consulat* was intending to produce an album, why wait two months before commissioning it, leaving the field open to rivals against whom they then felt obliged to take drastic action?

We know too little of Scève's life to explain any delay on his part. Allowance should be made for the novelty of the enterprise: no municipality in France had yet attempted to commission an official printed account of a civic ceremony, and certainly not one of these proportions. However, a reason for inaction on the part of the *consulat* is not hard to find: in the autumn of 1548 civic life in Lyon was paralysed by the financial wrangle with the royal treasury, which had been carried on behind the scenes during the visit, with the city declaring itself unable to pay the 72,000 *livres* military levy. The king responded by holding the *consulat* personally responsible and the first city councillors were arrested on 8 November, including the Humbert Masso who was negotiating with Scève;[19] on 19 March 1549 matters came to a head and the whole *consulat* and many other notables found themselves in the city jail.[20] During this *bras de fer* the councillors ventured on every means of persuasion and blandishment, from the dispatch of envoys to attempts to bribe the chancellor with gifts; and to strengthen their hand, they took the decision, three weeks after the first imprisonments, to enlist the help of Scève. Since their argument with the royal treasury turned upon their ability to pay, it was of publicity value for them to make capital out of a high-profile factor in Lyon's insolvency, her unstinting expenditure on the entry, while at the same time underscoring the city's devotion to the crown and her importance to the kingdom as a commercial center. These are the three key themes of Scève's album, and the insufficient emphasis placed on them in *Le grand triumphe* might undermine the councillors' strategy. Hence the sudden decision to disavow the earlier *bulletins* and commission Scève to produce a prestigious album to act as a lever with which to influence opinion at court, mobilize the support of Ippolito d'Este, and seek the aid of the queen.

Scève's text was ready within a month, submitted to the *consulat*,

[18] See McGowan, 50–52.

[19] Lyon, arch. com., BB 68, fol. 263; Guigue, 186–87.

[20] Lyon, arch. com., BB 68, fol. 324v; Guigue, 190–91; Gascon, *Grand commerce*, 1:432.

approved by them, and transcribed into the *actes consulaires*.[21] As coordinator of the festivities he had no doubt been able to gain time by drawing from his own notes, as well as from the sketchy report in the municipal archives,[22] and even occasionally from the stigmatized *Grand triumphe*. The *livret* he composed corresponds closely to the model described by Bonner Mitchell for Renaissance *avvisi*: Scève deals with the circumstances leading up to the entry; the preparations by the city; the procession to meet the king; the procession returning to the city; the progress through the city, with description of the *apparati*; and the subsequent ceremonies and entertainments.[23]

Though the text was ready, the matter remained of the woodcuts. The archives ascribe this initiative to Scève himself, and the novelty of his plan should be stressed, as earlier printed French entries had been small-format, largely unillustrated booklets, and even the recent coronation of Henri had only had one print.[24] To move to a long quarto volume illustrated with fifteen full-page woodcuts was a major innovation, and one which was to be followed in Paris, Antwerp, and Rouen.

The artist chosen for the album was Bernard Salomon[25] and the publisher was Guillaume Rouillé,[26] which might seem surprising given that Salomon usually worked with Jean de Tournes, and this seems to be his only collaborative effort with Rouillé.[27] However, certain factors may have worked in favor of Rouillé: the privilege asserts that an Italian translation was envisaged from the beginning, and Rouillé was an obvious choice as publisher, since he was virtually bilingual and was also moving into foreign language publications, first Italian, then Spanish.[28] Furthermore, Scève's collaborator Aneau had already written for Rou-

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[21] *La Magnificence de la superbe et triumphante entree de la noble et antique cité de Lyon, faicte au très chrestien Roy de France, deuxiesme de ce nom, et à la Royne Catherine, son espouse, le vingt-troisiesme de septembre mil cinq cens quarante huict*, Lyon, arch. com., BB 611, fols. 255–76.

[22] Lyon, arch. com., BB 67, fol. 282; Guigue, 183–84; Saulnier, 1:360 and n. 166; Brooke, 65.

[23] B. Mitchell, *1598: A Year of Pageantry in Late Renaissance Ferrara*, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, vol. 71 (Binghamton: MRTS, 1990), 7–8.

[24] *Le sacre et couronnement du Roy Henry deuxieme de ce nom* (Paris, R. Estienne [1547], 8°).

[25] See Rolle's article; N. Rondot, *Bernard Salomon, peintre et tailleur d'histoires à Lyon au XVIe siècle* (Lyon, 1897).

[26] On Rouillé see N. Z. Davis, "Publisher Guillaume Rouillé, businessman and humanist," in R. J. Schoeck, ed. *Editing Sixteenth Century Texts* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1965), 72–112.

[27] Baudrier, 9:48; Brooke, 63.

[28] Baudrier, 9:154–55, 160–61, 167, 175–77, 186.

illé[29] and we have seen that Du Choul was later to entrust his own books to him. However, Rouillé seems not to have possessed his own type, and his name on the title-page indicates that he had published but probably not *printed* the contents;[30] compare the case of Rabelais' *Sciomachie*, for instance, which bears Gryphius' mark but was printed by de Tournes. The same may have happened here: since the historiated capitals and the arabesque *culs-de-lampe* come from de Tournes' types, the latter probably printed it for Rouillé.[31]

Before the album could be issued, the woodcuts had to be executed. The original sum voted of ten *écus* proved insufficient and twelve *écus* were finally handed over on 16 January,[32] making this one of few cases in France at the period of a city subsidizing a similar publication. Normally the printer would expect to recoup through sales, and the subvention may well indicate the importance ascribed by the *consulat* to the prestigious appearance of the album. They can scarcely have been disappointed by the quality of the paper, the elegant typeface virtually free of misprints, the capitals and other ornaments, and the fifteen magnificent full-page woodcuts, all of which no doubt consoled them as they languished in jail for municipal debt.

Salomon's illustrations can be classified into four groups: military, architectural with background and without background, and naval. The first group includes the two cuts (fols. C4, Dv) associated with the parade, portraying the two captains of the *enfants de la ville.* Each cut is the same size (117 x 99 mm.) and style, and since Salomon had had some responsibility for the design of costumes, he may have had sketches to work from. Without setting the figures against any background, he focusses on the details of their armor, plumes, caparison, and weapons, taking particular trouble over the arabesque motifs and the plumes. Both designs were to influence the illustrators of the Paris entry.

A second group of cuts comprises the monuments which Salomon sets against a background. An obvious example is the engraving of the obelisk (fol. D4), portrayed in a tree-covered landscape with a marked

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[29] Ibid., 9:133.

[30] Davis, "Publisher Guillaume Rouillé," 73.

[31] Baudrier, 9:163 thinks the Italian edition was printed by Jean de Tournes, to judge by the initial letters P N and I. But the catalogue of the *Harvard College Library, Department of Printing and Graphic Arts: French 16th century books*, ed. R. Mortimer (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1964), 1:245, says that neither this work nor any of the *criblé* or *putti* initals appear in Cartier.

[32] Rolle, 433–34; Baudrier, 9:80; Saulnier, 1:339–40 nn. 109–10.

horizontal movement, which conveys an impression of space, when in fact the monument had been crammed into a tiny clearing which had needed enlarging by demolition. One of the largest pictures (144 x 100 mm.), it makes a clear attempt to contrast rustic disorder with the perfection of a work of art, which itself has a strong vertical thrust, reaching, as its inscription reminds us, from earth to a sky complete with clouds and birds. Salomon's inclusion of the two observers with a dog —figures are rare in contemporary *livret* illustrations[33]—serves not only to give proportion, but to imitate a technique successfully used by Antoine Lafréry in his recent engravings of Rome, which Salomon has in mind here. The obelisk is being admired by visitors in the same way as Roman monuments, and the tufts of grass growing out of the top of the obelisk confirm this desire to present the construction as a relic of Lyon's past.

A similar technique is evident in the woodcut of the victory column at Saint-Jean (fol. H3v), which is the same size (144 x 100mm.), and complete with groups of passers-by and a child with dog: Salomon has imitated Lafréry's 1544 cut of the column of Trajan, besides attempting a difficult foreshortening effect in the perspective of the rising column. Also notable here is the attention paid to the detail of the trophy on the base and the portrayal of smoke from torches of four statues.

The third monument in a setting is of the port at Saint-Jean (fol. I), smaller in size (117 x 99 mm.), with the architecture set off against the river with ceremonial barge and two passers-by on a narrow beach. We have noted that the design of the port is another allusion to Rome, modelled on the upper Belvedere *exedra*[34] probably through the intermediary of Serlio's print; the double flight of steps will appear again in later cuts by Salomon. Worthy of note here, and typical of Salomon's style in a number of cuts, is the contrast between the precise detail of the frieze and rustication, and the rather schematic rendering of the statues in the niches.

The album also contains a series of monuments portrayed without any background, as if taken from a book of designs. The *portal de Pierre-Scize*, for instance (fol. E2), among the smallest of the prints (117 x 99 mm.), is not very successful in its use of perspective, and is more reminiscent in style of one of Serlio's designs for a fireplace. The excessive detail of the arabesque decorations, scroll work, and entablature also

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[33] McAllister Johnson, "Essai de critique interne," 3:197.

[34] Brooke, 68.

detract somewhat from the line and volume of the arch. This contrasts with the much larger (144 x 199 mm.) and more successful arch of *Bourgneuf* (fol. E4v), in which a great, and probably exaggerated, sense of depth is given to the monument. There is a better balance between structure and ornament, and we can admire the more successful rendering of the statues and the detail of the decoration on the bases and frieze, the coffering, the heraldic elements, and the inscription, which Salomon transcribes here in full. By contrast, on the similarly sized trophy at the *Griffon* (fol. F3; 144 x 99 mm.), the inscriptions are just squiggles and the statues are only sketched, whereas the architectural detail of trophy, fluting, and bases is carefully rendered.

The fountain at Saint Paul (fol. F4v) is a small (117 x 100 mm.) but very crowded woodcut, filled with elaborate detail of the frieze, coffering, spandrels, and of the carving on the base overlaid with fruit-swags. As with the earlier obelisk, Salomon contrasts the disorder of Nature in the rocks with the elegance and discipline of Art in the architectural framework, in which the perspective is also well handled. However, as we have seen elsewhere, the inscription is only hinted at and the two statues, which have great importance in the text, are rather crudely presented. On the other hand, in the much larger (144 x 100 mm.) temple of Honor and Virtue (fol. G3), perhaps his most successful cut, Salomon pays closer attention to the statues, succeeds in making the painting on panels between the herms look like sculpture, transcribes the inscription in full, gives excellent detail of the frieze of Alexander, and brings off a difficult foreshortening effect. The monument to *Occasio* (fol. H2), among the largest of the illustrations (144 x 100 mm.), is an example of Salomon's love for detail spoiling the general effect. He delights in elaborate detail of the apse, frieze, and panels between the herms, but there is too much hatching for this detail to show through, with the result that the shaded side of the semi-circle is rather messy. *Occasio*'s column and her globe fail to stand out, and the rendering of the statue and of the herms is unsure.

Among all the illustrations of monuments, the perspective of the *Change* (fol. G4; 130 x 100 mm.) stands out, since most of the cut represents a painting with an architectural and sculptural foreground. We have suggested the influence on this woodcut of Serlio's comic set, and Salomon was soon to follow this by engraving a whole series of Terentian theatre scenes.[35] The design is perfectly symmetrical, thanks to the

[35] *Pourtraits divers* (Lyon: J. de Tournes, 1556, 8°); BN, *Cabinet des Estampes*, Ed. 5 h. Rés.

four *mansions*, and it creates a remarkable sense of depth leading back to the vanishing point directly above the fountain on a column of the rotunda. The round temple was to become a favorite with Salomon, and appears in numerous later engravings, notably the biblical ones.[36] As in his illustrations of monuments in the album, Salomon also places observers in the square, including an equestrian figure who echoes the attitude of the cavalry captain. It might again be felt, however, that the architecture and the perspective are more expertly handled than the statuary in this engraving.

The last group of woodcuts comprises the pictures of the three ships (fols. Lv, L2, L2v; all 117 x 99 mm.), which act as the visual climax to the album. Despite differences of detail, the galleys are presented as a symmetrical pair, printed on facing pages pointing in opposite directions, with similar mast, crows-nests, rigging, pennants, rams, and lanterns, each galley escorted by a frigate and being commanded by a captain in the poop holding a Roman-style standard. The figures of the gladiators are quite successfully rendered in bellicose pose. There is plenty of decorative detail, although on the white, black, and red galley, the hatching for shading obscures some of the carving. The architectural ornament of the bucentaur is well portrayed, and a sense of space is created by the insertion of a craft in the background and birds in the sky; but the figures on the deck and on the balcony are again slightly muddled in presentation.

It is striking to observe which parts of the visit Salomon illustrated, and which he left out. Unlike the later Rouen entry, no attempt is made to portray groups of figures in the parade, with only the two captains being singled out, possibly because Salomon had sketches for the design of their costumes. The parade is effectively played down visually in favor of the monuments, and among those Salomon chooses mainly the ones in whose design he was involved, leaving out Porte-froc, the exterior and interior of the *Archevêché*, Rontalon, the tennis court, the Italian theatre, and the great four-castled galliass. Of all Ippolito d'Este's initiatives, only the victory column and the *port Saint-Jean* appear: since the *consulat* were paying for the pictures, it is perhaps not surprising that their achievements should be privileged. This element of slanting in no way detracts from the originality of the volume, as it was the first published French entry album to be fully illustrated, and the woodcuts set the style for the forthcoming entries to Paris and to Rouen.

[36] Sharratt, "The imaginary city."

Scève's two-year privilege mentioned the possibility of an Italian version of the album, and the following March a translation duly appeared, with a dedicatory letter of the translator, F. M., addressed to a certain Francesco Vissino of Padua;[37] the only personal details given by the translator are references to favor shown him by Vissino's uncle and to Vissino's forthcoming trip to visit a Cesari Manno in Palermo.[38] Various attempts have been made to assign an identity to F. M.[39] The most likely candidate, for two reasons, is a merchant from an old Florentine family, Francesco Mazzei: first he had been established in Lyon since at least October 1546, when he obtained *lettres de sauvegarde* from François Ier,[40] and more importantly we later find him acting as an intermediary between Rouillé and an Italian author, Lodovico Domenichi, who in 1559 used him to transmit to the printer his edition of Giovio's *Dialogo dell'imprese* for its first publication in France.[41] Further evidence, however, is needed for certainty. The initiative—and perhaps the funding—for this translation came from a Florentine merchant resident in Lyon, Lucantonio Ridolfi, who had been encouraging Rouillé to publish more in Italian. Rouillé dedicated his 1550 edition of Petrarch to Ridolfi, recalling how the previous year,

> mosso da tale vostra persuasione, feci nella detta lingua traduite et stampare l'entrata del Re qui in Lyone insieme colla descrittione della comedia: laquel mia impressione penso che se non in tutto almeno in qualche parte vi sodisfacessi.[42]

The presentation of the Italian album differs in some ways from the French original, in that the typeface changes from Roman to italic and some different *culs-de-lampe* appear; however, each has the same mixture

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[37] F. M., fol. A2r–v, Lyon, 1 March 1549; his name was misprinted and corrected in the Harvard copy.

[38] I have not hitherto identified Vissino, whose family is not recorded in inscriptions in Padua: see F. J. Salomonius, *Agri Patavini inscriptiones sacrae et prophanae* (Padua: Typographia Seminarii, 1696, 1701, 4°). The Visino family came from Gorizia.

[39] Saulnier, 2:149 n. 115, postulates a relative of Cesare Manno, possibly Francesco Manno. The famous polygraph Francesco Maurolico has also been suggested, but he appears scarcely to have stirred from Messina.

[40] P. Marichal, ed. *Catalogue des actes de François Ier* (Paris, 1887–1908), 6: nos. 23152, 23178; E. Picot, *Les Français italianisants* (Paris, 1906–7), 1:211.

[41] P. Giovio, *Dialogo dell'imprese militari et amorose* (Lyon: G. Rouillé, 1559, 4°); Roville writes to Domenichi that "la cortesia vostra mi fece appresentare il libro per M. Francesco e Simon Mazzei;" cf. Baudrier, 9:255.

[42] *Il Petrarca*, comm. A. Brucioli (Lyon: G. Rouillé, 1550, 16°), prefatory letter; Baudrier, 9:175.

of decorated capitals with floral design and historiated capitals involving pairs of figures, and all the woodcuts are re-used intact. It would, however, be far from correct to describe F. M.'s version as a literal or even a close translation. The text has undergone adaptation for an Italian public, such as the replacement of Scève's sketchy thirty-five lines on the Florentine comedy by a detailed account of the performance. Glosses were also added to explain local trades, local place-names like *La Rue Neuve*, *Saint-Vincent*, *La Rigaudière*, or the origin of the name *Pierre-Scize*; and Italian equivalents were sought for French measurements, French fashions, and technical nautical and musical terminology.

However, F. M. did not simply limit himself to making Scève's original comprehensible to an Italian reader. He tried his hand, without success, at amending the text of Scève's Latin inscriptions;[43] for a reason still to be discovered he changed most of the figures for the trade contingents by plus or minus one, and added more details about the dimensions and colors of the tennis court (fol. K3), and about the trees in Diana's grove and the nymphs' costumes (fol. E). For the sake of clarity, he came up with Italian analogies, comparing the Saint-Michel costume to "le grammagle si portano in la Sicilia" (fol. L4), the Saint-Paul double arch to the *porta dei Leoni* in Verona (fol. H4) and the balustrade of the Temple of Honor and Virtue to the rooftop gardens of Naples (fol. G2), and specifying how the *port Saint-Jean* imitates the statues, towers, and double staircase of the Belvedere (fol. I).

The Italian translation also has changes of substance, such as the interpretation of the Perspective, which appears (wrongly) as Troy in Scève's text, and (mythologically correctly) as Athens in F. M's version (fols. G4, Kv). He indulges repeatedly in elaborate stylistic embellishment, both topical and erudite. When describing, for instance, the salvoes from *La Rigaudière*, he attributes patriotic sentiments to Nature:

> il rumor di questa artigleria fu tale che facendo tremar la terra, case, tetti et porte pareva che quelli saltassino et si rallegrassino per la venuta del loro Principe (fol. H4v).

In the account of the sweetmeats served at the collation on the bucentaur, he suppresses the reference to the heraldic devices of the court represented on the confectionery and appeals to his Tuscan readers by adding the gloss:

> et erano formate in diverse figure inricchite d'oro et d'azzuro si

[43] E.g., F. M., fol. E3v, "Quos ego *super* terras. . . ."

> bene che pareva che Suora Andrea Bonaccorsi, monacha di San Nicolao di Lucca et donna piena di vertù et che si diletta molto (come bonissima Maestra) di fare tal confectione, vi havessi posto le mane, anzi ogni suo ingengno per quelle fare (fol. K3v).

To display his classical scholarship he decides, in the description of the river jousting, to add that the combatants were so amusing,

> che se Heraclito vi fussi stato harebbe convertito il suo pianto in riso et Democrito harebbe cresciuto il rider suo (fol. K2v).

When describing the costume of the infantry, he elaborates on Scève's enthusiasm about the embroidery, adding that it was so fine,

> che'l pareva che Arachne insieme con Casandra si fussino studiate a quelle fare.[44]

Scève's vivid description of the convoy to *L'Observance*, with its conceit of the fish-eyed view of the flotilla, is suppressed and replaced with an equally colorful mythological perspective of the scene, the ships being so numerous that

> io credo che li Dii dell'acque non manco prendessino molto stupore et deletto del l'ombra di quelli, che Neptuno si maravigliassi et pigliassi piacere del l'ombra della nave ditta Argo edificata da Iasone quando volse navigare in Colcho (fol. L3).

The amendments made by F. M. suggest not only a desire to please an Italian readership, but also that he had been a witness to the events of that week. The same must be said of Denis Sauvage's account of the entry (and of the Paris entry) which he inserted into his edition of Gilles' chronicle in August 1549.[45] Although Sauvage has borrowed some phrases from Scève's album to describe the interior of the bucentaur, he also inserts additional material which appears to derive from eye-witness evidence, perhaps his own, notably on the draping of the streets and on the combination of painting and carving in the monuments. He may be reflecting the opinion of the courtiers when he singles out certain episodes for special mention—Diana's hunt and poem, the verses of Neptune and Pallas, the gladiators and the comedy, and when he regards the naumachia as the high point of the visit. He cer-

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[44] Ibid., fol. C3v.

[45] N. Gilles, *Le second volume des Croniques et Annales de France* (Paris: R. Avril for J de Roigny, 1549, fol.), fol. cxlv: see appendix F.

tainly presents the metropolitan viewpoint when commenting on the relative splendor of the participants in the parade: the foreign contingents are ranked below the *confréries*, but all are said to have been outshone by the glamor of the courtiers, who gave the provincials a lesson in fashion.

At one time it was thought that copies of the French and Italian versions of Scève's album were rare,[46] but further searching has shown that, on the contrary, many copies of both editions survive,[47] evidence of the success of this publishing initiative. Although there was no reprint, and despite the silence of certain contemporary chroniclers,[48] the French text without the illustrations continued to attract interest, being republished a quarter of a century later by Paradin[49] and cited at length by Brantôme,[50] then reprinted in the seventeenth century by Godefroy,[51] whose text was in turn summarized by Colonia,[52] and then futher modernized and truncated in the municipally sponsored 1752 selection of entries to the city.[53] Scève's original album had been lost to view, along with Salomon's woodcuts, which did not resurface until Guigue's facsimile edition of 1927. Similarly, the name of Scève, whose reputation as a poet suffered an eclipse of some three centuries, became detached from the album, which was commonly cited as anonymous: it is to the credit initially of A. Baur,[54] but principally of V.-L. Saulnier, that this work was restored to its rightful author, although Saulnier persists in denying it any literary merit.[55] Tastes have now changed, and rather than viewing this occasional piece as an aberrance in the Scevian corpus, we might advance it as evidence of the poet's versatility, of his narrative skills, and above all of his contribution to the zenith of the Renaissance in Lyon, in which humanist, literary, and artistic ingenuity fused to create a polymorphic spectacle to express civic

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[46] Rolle, 435.

[47] Baudrier, 9:164–65, lists 7 copies of the French and 14 of the Italian, but there are others in Great Britain, Italy, and the United States.

[48] E.g., Cormier, Vielleville, and Tavannes; Rubys devotes one page to the album, *Histoire,* 375, giving the wrong dates.

[49] Paradin, *Memoires,* fols. 320–51.

[50] Brantôme, *Oeuvres,* 3:250–58; Saulnier, 1:364–64.

[51] F. Godefroy, *Le Cérémonial français* (Paris, S. & G. Cramoisy, 1649), 1:823–57.

[52] D. de Colonia, *Histoire littéraire de la ville de Lyon* (Lyon, F. Rigollet, 1730), 2:518–37.

[53] *Relation des entrées solennelles dans la ville de Lyon de nos rois, reines ... et autres grands personnages* (Lyon: A. Delaroche, 1752, 4°), 9–58.

[54] A. Baur, *Maurice Scève et la Renaissance lyonnaise* (Paris, 1906), 90–104.

[55] Saulnier, 1:360–61.

pride and national aspirations. The judgment of Denis Sauvage is close to the mark:

> En somme fut la bravade et magnificence de ladicte entrée tant grande, que la posterité, lisant le livre qui en a esté faict, s'en esmerveillera beaucoup plus tost qu'elle ne le croyra.[56]

16. *The Afterglow*

Amid the chorus of praise for the success of the entry and royal visit,[1] observers speak of manifestations of enthusiasm among the populace.[2] We have seen, by contrast, that the diarist Guéraud reported only mitigated disappointment among the citizens of Lyon at the departure of the courtiers owing to their cavalier behavior;[3] if the entry sought to stir up monarchic fervor in the citizenry, it may not have wholly succeeded. Similarly, if it was intended to mollify the attitude of the royal exchequer towards municipal finances then it was again a failure, with the members of the *consulat* landing up in prison for debt within weeks of the king's departure, and with the Lyonnais being burdened with additional taxes for years to come in order to help recover the costs. The municipality was left more heavily indebted than before, with apparently few positive results to show for it, although the king finally agreed to confirm the city's liberties and privileges. Others had more reason to be satisfied: the Florentine community was pleased not only with having won the battle of precedence over the Genoese, but with promises of trading privileges. Certain individuals also profited greatly from the visit: Diane de Poitiers was elevated to her duchy during the stay, and the star of Jacques de Saint-André was still in the ascendant, as was that of Ippolito d'Este, who reported to his brother the king's satisfaction with the arrangements he had made,[4] although he left himself seriously embarrassed financially.[5]

The major influence of this entry is seen not in Lyonnais public

[56] Appendix F.

[1] E.g., Panciatichi, 25 Sept., Appendix D; Giustiniano, 24 Sept., Appendix C; Ippolito d'Este, 26 Sept., Appendix B; Guéraud, 44.

[2] E.g., Giustiniani, fols. 235v–236.

[3] Guéraud, 48.

[4] Ippolito-Ercole d'Este, 26 Sept. 1548, Appendix B.

[5] Ippolito-Ercole d'Este, 21 Oct. 1548, Appendix B.

opinion nor in the career of favorites, but in the styles it set and the substantial features it contributed to a series of later Henrician festivals. The first festival to model itself closely on the Lyonnais album was Jean du Bellay's celebration in Rome in March 1549 of the birth of Henri's second son, Louis d'Orléans. It is evident that the planners in Rome had the broad outline of the entry before them when drawing up the celebration, and that Rabelais had the text of Scève's newly published album in his hand when writing the events in his *Sciomachie.* Since there was no royal personage, there was no need for an entry, but the festival centered on the storming of a fort, which had happened at Beaune and would reappear in Paris; the contents were also more military and chivalric than Lyon and included material from the Roman carnival. But other elements derive from the earlier royal visit: an abortive naumachia, an equally unsuccessful Italian comedy, an elaborate episode of Diana and her nymphs, much parading of troops, fireworks, and artillery, a Latin inscription, a combat of gladiators, a major role for music, great importance given to costumes, a concluding banquet with a poem sung to a lyre, and above all stress on the enterprise as a piece of Franco-Italian solidarity. In his own album Rabelais borrows textually from Scève's album, especially in the Diana episode and in the military and pyrotechnic vocabulary: he and his patron seem to have judged that the use of this model which had so pleased the king was a recipe for renewed success.[6]

The planners of the king's entry to Paris and the coronation of the queen had little more time than Rabelais to absorb the contents of Scève's account, but the influence is no less apparent in the Paris entry, and in the entry to Rouen the following year. Although in each case the organizing committee of local humanists had their own iconographic and thematic program which gave each entry its own particular coloring, there are nonetheless common features which make these entries a stylistic triptych. Unlike Lyon and Rome, the festivals in Paris and Rouen were firmly French, with no role for foreign merchants or collaboration with foreign colonies; the Rouennais went even further by downgrading the role of the citizenry and of the *métiers* in particular. The Paris entry also balanced the markedly antiquarian flavor of the Lyonnais precedent with important chivalric elements known to be to the king's taste. The omission of jousting in Lyon many have been judged to be an error: Henri had all his jousting gear ferried down to

[6] Cooper, *Rabelais et l'Italie*, 70–71.

Lyon and yet was never given the opportunity by those humanist purists to dust off his lance.[7] The *Sciomachie* also included jousting, as well as a perilous emulation on horseback of the gladiators' combat. The Rouen entry moved further away from Lyon, reducing the antiquarian element and the number of arches, adding a pinch of exoticism, and accentuating the military flavor by staging a triumph to celebrate the victory at Boulogne. The only direct iconographic parallel in this connection between Lyon and Rouen is the Lyonnais frieze of the elephant-led triumph of Alexander, echoed in Rouen in that of *Heureuse Fortune.*[8]

The Lyonnais style of arch, with a single opening flanked by pairs of columns, occurs in Paris (fol. 9), although the Parisian designers also branched out with an H-shaped arch and with the triple arch at Saint-Antoine. Their arch at Saint-Denis also imitated the Lyonnais taste for fake antiquities by including a stretch of ruined wall (fol. 4), and the niches in the arch at Bourgneuf influenced the arches on the *pont Notre-Dame* (fol. 15). Paris decided to have its own obelisk to match Lyon (fol. 11), but modelled it more closely on the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili.* The very original double arch at Saint-Paul also influenced the design of the one in front of the *Palais de Justice* (fol. 27v): although not a grotto, the Paris arch also doubled as a fountain like its model, with a spray of milk coming from the breast of Minerva. The motif of the two rivers used at Saint-Paul is transferred in Paris to the vault of the arch at Saint-Jacques where we see pictures of Seine and Marne, together with the theme of fertility which echoes the *ubertas* of the model (fols. 7v–8). Neither Paris nor Rouen takes the free-standing victory columns over from Lyon, although they are incorporated in Paris into the H-shaped arch (fol. 38v), while the torch-holding figures on one Lyon victory column reappear in the torches in Paris (fol. 27v). Last among the architectural features is the perspective, which was imitated in Paris in Jean Cousin's loggia dedicated to Lutetia, where a large painted backdrop was set in a three-dimensional framework with a figure placed in front—in Lyon a pair of actors, in Paris a statue of Lutetia (fol. 13). Another similar perspective was used in the 1572 entry of Charles IX to Paris.[9]

Scève and his colleagues included not only more classical monu-

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[7] CAH, 2: no. 3822.

[8] McGowan, fols. Gii–Hiv.

[9] F. A. Yates, ed. *La ioyeuse Entree de Charles IX Roy de France en Paris, 1572* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Ltd and New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., n.d.), 16–17 and fol. 31.

ments but also more Latin inscriptions than either Jean Martin or Claude Chappuis were to do, forty-five in Lyon, not counting the theatre, compared with twenty-nine in Paris and a mere five in Rouen. However, Chappuis clearly read Scève's album closely and borrowed from it one of the few inscriptions used in Rouen, the Virgilian

Sedes ubi fata quietas, ostendunt (fol. O3).

In the Paris entry the Lyonnais antiquarianism and Virgilian themes of empire are replaced by more extensive use of the Hercules myth, of Gallic fabulous pre-history deriving from Annius of Viterbo, and of the old chestnut of the Trojan ascendance of the French monarchy. The religious themes virtually eliminated in Lyon stage a prominent come-back in Rouen, notably in the *théâtre de la Crosse.*[10] It is significant that while Lyon had still made considerable use of *mystères*, this theatrical element was almost absent from the Paris entry, but played a major role in Rouen where playlets were performed all along the route: the Rouennais procession of Flora and her nymphs, in particular (fol. H2), appears to owe something to the Diana episode in Lyon. Other obvious parallels in Rouen are the celebration of the feast of Saint-Michel (fol. B2), with all the same ceremonies as in Lyon; the presentation to king and queen of gifts in the form of inscribed statues (fols. Q2v–Q4v); and, strikingly, the construction at the abbey of Saint-Ouen of a *jeu de paume* for the king's use (fol. Rv).

Some of the military material from Lyon survived into the later entries. The Rouennais took over from Scève the novelty of duels between gladiators (fols. Dv–D2). Salomon's woodcuts of the two captains made a lasting impression, the infantry captain being imitated in Rouen in a remarkably similar cut, and the cavalry captain appearing in both entries, although the Parisian charger keeps its feet firmly on the ground. The prominent use in Lyon of the Saône and the success of the naumachia also commended themselves to the later planners who mounted river spectacles. The one in Paris is graphically described, although not illustrated, but it failed to please some observers: the imperial ambassador noted that the attempt to storm by river a fort on the Ile de Louviers confirmed all his opinions about French arms: a lot of fire and smoke, but a military flop since they failed to capture the

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[10] Chartrou, *Les entrées*, 40.

fort.[11] In Rouen two marine spectacles were put on, both remarkably well illustrated: a mythological marine extravaganza around the bridge, and a topical battle between the Portuguese and French over possession of Brazil, concluding appropriately with the sinking of the Portuguese interlopers.

There are striking similarities between aspects of the Lyon entry and that of Philip of Spain to Antwerp, which exists in a Latin account and a French translation,[12] Allowance must obviously be made for a degree of coordination from Florence, and for the influence on both of Giambullari's album. We note, however, the analogous role in the parade of the Italian colonies, with the Luccan, Milanese, Genoese and Florentine merchants showing off their wardrobes in Antwerp (fols. C2r–v, Dr–v), and even a textual parallel in the reappearance in Antwerp of the inscription

Fama super aethera notus (fol. G2v).

Amid the iconography in Antwerp we note, as in Lyon, the grouping of the allegorical figures of Faith, Obedience, *Amor*, and of the cardinal virtues (fols. F–F2). In the Italian theatre at Lyon we have already seen that various figures of national heroes were borrowed from the marriage celebrations of Cosimo I. Several of these were to crop up again in Antwerp in the Florentine *porticus*, including Giovanni delle Bande Nere and Pippo Spano among the *condottieri* and among the writers, Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio (fol. I). Similarly, in a renewed pursuit of Tuscan *Lebensraum*, an array is presented of cities under grand-ducal sway, namely those sculpturally embodied in Lyon, in exactly the same order, Pisa, Volterra, Cortona, Borgo San Sepolcro, Castrocaro, Fiesole, Arezzo, Prato, Montepulciano, with the omission of Pistoia (after Arezzo), and with the addition at the end of Villanova, Pescia, and Empoli (fol. Iv). Among later similar events in Antwerp we note the *ludus gladiatorius* (fol. O4), the banquet followed by a firework display (fols. P–P2), and the advertising of the cost to the city of the whole entry (26,800 florins). The album of F. M. has clearly helped in further dissemination of Tuscan propaganda.

There were to be several more entries and festivities in Lyon during

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[11] S. Renard – King and Queen of Bohemia, 9 July 1549, Arch. Simancas, MS K. 1488, no. 126.

[12] Grapheus, *Spectaculorum*, cit.; translated as *La tresadmirable & triumphante entree ... en la ville d'Anvers* (Antwerp: P. Coeck [1550], fol.); Landwehr, *Splendid ceremonies*, 75.

the course of the reign, including the entries of Jacques de Saint-André in 1550, of cardinal de Tournon in 1552 organized by Serlio,[13] and of the legate cardinal Caraffa in 1556,[14] in addition to the peace celebrations of 1559,[15] but nothing was on the same scale as 1548. The organizer of the 1550 entry, Barthélémy Aneau, used the devotion of the lion/Lyon to the new governor, renaming the city Leontopolis and showing the lion welcoming the honorand as in the earlier episode of Diana.[16] He also resurrected another of the earlier *ystoires*, that of Androclus and the lion from the reverse of the *portal de Pierre-Scize*, but it is not clear if his artist, Salomon, reused a picture stored away by the *consulat* or if he painted a new one on the same theme to serve as the backdrop for a *mystere.*[17] The statue of *Occasio* from the *Grand Palais* had been preserved, however, and kept as a kind of relic in the *hôtel de ville* before being sold for 30 *écus* to Grolier to decorate his new house.[18] The 1559 peace celebrations, in which Aneau and Salomon once again seem to have collaborated, brought back some ideas from the 1548 entry: an obelisk was built on de *pont de Saône* and a column was built outside the town hall; a fountain dispensed wine outside the cathedral; echoing artillery deafened the city; one *mystère* involved a horse issuing from a rock; and a galliass with four castles full of fireworks, after bouts of river jousting, was attacked and set on fire.[19]

As a result of religious violence, the 1564 entry of Charles IX was a deliberately sober affair[20] with the *confréries* excluded:[21] however, some of the 1548 features reappear, including a Perspective;[22] a Temple of the Virtues modelled on that of Virtue and Honor; the images at

[13] Rubys, *Histoire*, 378.

[14] Ibid., 380.

[15] B. du Troncy, *Le discours du grand triomphe fait en la ville de Lyon pour la paix faite et accordee entre Henri second, roy de France treschrestien, et Philippe Roy des Espagnes, et leurs aliez* (Lyon: J. Saugrain, 1559); *Suite de la description des grands triomphes faitz à Lyon apres la publication de la paix* (Lyon: J. Saugrain, 1559).

[16] B. Aneau, *Picta poesis* (Lyon: M. Bonhomme, 1552), 12.

[17] Lyon, arch. com., BB 71; Gerig, "Barthélémy Aneau," *Romanic Review* 2 (1911): 177–82.

[18] Lyon, arch. com., BB 70, fol. 184, 12 Jan. 1550; Guigue, 194.

[19] Du Troncy, *Suite de la description*, 5.

[20] *Discours de l'entrée du tres illustre, tres puissant, tres chrestien et tres victorieux prince, Charles de Valois, neuviesme de ce nom, roy de France, en sa tres renommee et fameuse ville de Lyon* (Paris: M. Breville, 1564, 8°); modern ed. by Vital de Valous (Lyon 1884).

[21] Ed. Vital de Valous, 51–53.

[22] Ibid., 27.

Saint-Jean of Justice and Religion;[23] galleys and a galliass plying the river, one incorporating a reception room;[24] and jousting on the river.[25] The 1574 entry of the uncrowned Henri III, following his leisurely and self-indulgent progress through Italy, was an unimpressive display[26] marked only by the prominent role for the specially decorated ceremonial bucentaur-like barge which took Henri and his mother from Ile Barbe to the city.[27] Not until Henri IV's entry of 1595[28] do we find an enterprise of similar proportions to that offered by the city in 1548 to his father-in-law.

We return, in conclusion, to the immediate aftermath of Henri II's entry. The city had to be put back together again following the demolitions necessary for the monuments, especially around Pierre-Scize, as well as the demolitions beside the river to give the king a view of the Saône, and along the shop-fronts to widen the processional route.[29] Almost all the triumphal decorations were made of wood, canvas, plaster, and paint, materials all susceptible to weather: even before the king's departure the *consulat* had set about dismantling the monuments before too much damage was done, in the hope of saving at least some of the timber.[30] The bridge, for instance, was dismantled four days after the entry. The Ferrarese ambassador had warned of this outcome while Ippolito was gaily spending his 10,000 ducats, most of which would go up in smoke:

> Io assicuro alla Ex. V. che la venuta de sua Maesta in Lione costerà à s. S^{ria} R^{ma} 10m ducati. Ella fa grandissimi apparati et ornamenti, de tutti i quali non ne resterà di vivo per 2 in 3m ducati che sono acconciamenti di fabriche; tutto il resto anderà perduto.[31]

With all this demolition we might ask what, apart from Scève's

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[23] Ibid., 38.

[24] Ibid., 43–46.

[25] Ibid., 47.

[26] *L'ordre tenu à l'arrivée du Treschrestien Roy de France et de Pologne, Henry de Valois, troisiesme de ce nom, faicte à Lyon* (Lyon: B. Rigaud, 1574, 8°).

[27] Lyon, arch. com. AA 144, no. 8; CC 1225.

[28] P. Matthieu, *L'Entrée de très-grand, très-chrestien prince Henri IIII en sa ville de Lyon* (Lyon: P. Michel, 1595).

[29] Lyon, arch. com., BB 68, fols. 236, 274v; CC 980, no. 15; CC 983, fols. 11v, 19v; Guigue, 186–87, 207–8, 297.

[30] Lyon, arch. com., CC 980, no. 15; Guigue, 293, 296.

[31] Alvarotto, busta 25, fol. 187, 19 Sept.

album which was intended to immortalize the ephemeral event, was to remain as a permanent memorial of the entry?[32] Alvarotto had in mind the interior decoration of the *Archevêché* and of the *Salle Saint-Jean,* which he estimates as having cost between 2–3000 ducats; both may have been damaged by the Huguenots in 1562–63, but probably survived into the next century.[33] In Paris nothing was left except for the *Fontaine des Innocents*, whose construction, however, was independent of the entry. In Lyon, as well as in Rouen, the most public and lasting relic of the royal visit was a building which in Lyon had cost only 1500 *livres*, which was turned into a cloister for an order of nuns, and was eventually not destroyed until the Revolution: the tennis court.[34]

[32] McAllister Johnson, "Essai de critique interne," 3: 199–200.

[33] Pariset, "Souvenirs," 118–20.

[34] Lyon, arch. com., BB 68, fol. 264, 302; Guigue, 187, 190; Brooke, 34.

Abbreviations

Alvarotto: G. Alvarotto, *Dispacci,* Archivio di Stato, Modena, *Ambasciatori Francia,* buste 25 & 45.

Arch. com.: Archives Communales.

Arch. Vat.: Archivio Segreto Vaticano.

AS: Archivio di Stato.

Baudrier: H. Baudrier. *Bibliographie lyonnaise.* Lyon: A. Brun, 1895–1921.

BAV: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

BL: British Library.

BN: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Brooke: J. M. Brooke, "Documents concerning the entry of Henry II of France into Lyon, 1548" M.A. thesis, Univ. of Toronto, 1975.

CAH: M.-N. Baudouin-Matuszek and A. Merlin-Chazelas, eds. *Catalogue des actes de Henri II.* Vols. 1–2. Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1979–86.

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Maurice Scève

The Entry of Henri II into Lyon

September 1548

LA MAGNIFICENCE

DE LA SVPERBE ET TRIVMPHANTE entree de la noble & antique Cité de Lyon faî-cte au Treſchreſtien Roy de France Henry deuxieſme de ce Nom,

Et à la Royne Càtherine ſon Eſpouſe le XXIII. de Septembre M. D. XLVIII.



A LYON, Chés Guillaume Rouille à l'Eſcu de Veniſe.

1549.

Auec priuilege.

Priuilege.



OVRCE QVE PAR CY DEuant on ha imprimé & exposé en vente plusieurs Liures & Cayers de l'entrée du Roy & de la Royne faicte en leur bonne Ville de Lyon lesquelz se trouuent incorrectz, mensongiers, & erronées taisant en plusieurs endroictz ce qui ha esté faict, & d'aultres peruertissant l'ordre desdictes entrees, & abusant par ce moyen les lecteurs de fables & mensonges au grand desauantaige de la dicte Ville, & de ceux qui ont faict leur debuoir, & mesmement cõtreuenantz aux edictz de ne rien imprimer sans autorité de Iustice & sans que l'Imprimeur y mette son nom, ce que ont teu, & par ce viendroyent punissables si les Imprimeurs desdictes entrees estoyent apprehendez. A ces causes & aultres considerations, il est defendu à tous Libraires & Imprimeurs de ne imprimer & exposer en vente lesdictes entrees sur peine de prison & amende arbitraire. Et ce à la requeste à nous faicte de la part de Guillaume Rouille marchant Libraire de Lyon, & ouy sur ce, les Conseilliers & Escheuins de la Ville de Lyon, Il est permis audict Rouille d'imprimer ou faire imprimer les susdictes entrees, qu'il ha faict veoir & corriger par gentz à ce cognoissantz & qui ont ordonné ladicte entrée & aussi faict tailler les figures tant des Arcz que autres choses dignes de veoir reduictes au petit pied au plus pres de la verité & luy est permis d'exposer en vente sans que autre, que luy, ou ayant sa permission, puysse imprimer, ou faire imprimer soyt auec figures ou sans figures, petite ou grand marge tant en Italien que Françoys, ny en façon quelconque de deux ans à compter du iour dacté des presentes, & ce sur peine de confiscation desdictz Liures, de prison, & amende arbitraire.

Donné à Lyon le *XXV.* de Ianuier, *M. D. XLVIII.*





Du Peyrat.

L'ENTREE DV ROY





E TRESCHRESTIEN Roy de France Henry deuxiesme uoulant a son heureux aduenement uisiter les Frontieres de son Royaulme, comme Prince prudent, delibera de passer en Piedmont pour y ueoir ses forteresses, & pour plusieurs autres grandz respectz : & de là s'en retourner par Lyon. Ce que Monseigneur le Reuerendissime Cardinal de Ferrare, Arceuesque & Conte de Lyon, & Monseigneur le Gouuerneur firent diligemment entendre à Monsieur le Lieutenant du Roy, & Messieurs les Cōseilliers & Escheuins de la Ville pour se preparer à le recepuoir à son retour. Parquoy Messieurs de la Ville, ne uoulant degenerer à leur antique generosité Romaine, cōme descenduz d'icelle, se resolurent unanimement d'estendre leur debuoir, ainsi que de tous temps ilz se sont monstréz tousiours autant deuotement affectionéz à leur Prince, que nulle autre Ville, ou Nation quelconque : & le recepuoir le plus honnorablement, & pour ensemblement

honnorer les nopces de treshaultz & tresuertueux Princes, Monseigneur le Duc de Vendosme, & Monseigneur le Duc d'Aumale, lesquelles se debuoient celebrer en ladicte Ville. Et pource tant eulx, que Messieurs des Nations, ayāt temps & loysir a faire leur debuoir, dresserent leurs preparatiues de plusieurs beaux Arcz triumphaux, Spectacles, Ieux, Combatz, Naumachies, Comedies, & maintz autres passe temps, tant par eau que par terre, & auec tel & magnifique appareil, comme l'on pourra ueoir cy dessouz.

Sa Sacree Mageste retournāt de Thurin arriua sur le tard à Esnay le XXI de Septembre M. D. XLVIII. ou la Royne & autres Princesses & Dames l'attendoyent: & là seiourna le lendemain.

Le Dymanche XXIII. fit son entree. Parquoy sur les dix heures du matin partit d'Esnay monté dens une des Gondoles expressement faictes pour le seruice & commodité de sa Mageste: Et sur icelle s'en uint par eau disner aux fauxbourg de Vaise au logis du Mouton, ou l'on luy auoit dressé une Loge, ainsi que d'ancienne coustume, pour receuoir & ouir les Chefz des Natiōs, & Capitaines des Enfantz de la Ville, qui luy uenoyent faire reuerence, & hommage. Ladicte Loge estoit couuerte d'un drap de soye uerte à rouleaux & entrelasseures de fil d'argent, remplies de croissants & chiffres dudict Seigneur: & tout autour, tant dedans que dehors, tendue de riche tappisserie de haulte lisse à personnages, auec arcades, & appuys sur le deuant, semblablement tournoyez de autre tapisserie uerte: & enrichy le tout à force festons, chappeaux de triumphe, & armoiries du

dudict Seigneur de la Royne, & de Monseigneur le Daulphin, tournoyez & enuironnez d'or cliquant.

Sur son disner Monseigneur de Sainct André Gouuerneur & Seneschal de Lyonnois auec les Gẽtilz hommes du pays uindrent faire la reuerence & hommage à sa Mageste. Lesquelz ne furent si tost retirez, que le Cõsul de Messieurs les Geneuois pour certains respectz, d'une anciẽne cõtẽtiõ de precedure entre la Seigneurie de Genes & de Florẽce comme prouidément discret uint faire la reuerẽce à sa Mageste en la sorte, qui s'ensuit. A scauoir ledict Seigneur Consul au milieu de ses deux Conseilliers uestu de robe courte de uelours noir, & doublee de satin noir, la fente des mãches close de boutons d'or gros & larges: casaquin de mesme uelours: pourpoint & hault de chausses de toille d'argent, souliers de uelours blanc: la berrette de uelours noir. Et marchoient deuant luy huict laquais uestus de satin blanc pourfilé de bisette de soye noire, le bonnet de uelours noir, la plume blanche. Et estoit le susdict Seigneur Consul accompaigné d'un bon nombre des siens de deux à deux uestus de semblable accoustrement. Et au deuãt de chascun d'eulx chemihoyent deux laquais uestus, comme les premiers, & ainsi alloyent lesdictz laquais de quatre à quatre pour ranc audeuant de leurs Maistres richement mõtez sur Genetz, Turcz, & cheuaulx de Royaume couuertz de uelours noir. Et en cest ordre, & ainsi pompeux se presenterent à sa Royale Mageste: & apres se retirerent en leurs logis.

Sur l'heure de Mydy tout le Clergé s'en uint auec les Bannieres des Confreries iusques au long de l'Obseruance, & là

les rangerẽt, cõme de toute anciẽne coustume. Et de là Messieurs les Doien, & Contes de Sainct Iean auec leurs grand robes de satin, damas, & taffetas passerent oultre sur leurs Mulles, & uindrent faire la reuerence à sa Mageité: puys s'en retournerent l'attendre deuant la grand Esglise.

Ce pendãt Messieurs de la Iustice, les Mestiers, Artisans, Notables, les Nations, Enfantz de Ville, & Conseilliers, qui s'estoient tous rendus hors la Ville pour se ranger, cõmencerent à s'estendre pour entrer, & passer audeuant du Roy, qui les attendoit en sa loge en l'ordre suyuant.

Premierement le Preuost des Mareschaux & son Lieutenant marchoient auec leurs Archiers tous à Cheual, & uestuz de sayes de drap uert, une manche & le bort du saye de broderie blanc & uert, ayant chascun manches de Maille, & un baston en la main pour ranger la grãde multitude du peuple insolemment estendue par les Rues, & incroyable, tant de ceulx de la Ville & gẽtz de Court, que des estrangiers & lieux circonuoysins, comme de Bourgoigne, Daulphiné, & d'ailleurs, uenus pour ueoir ladicte entrée. Et par ce moyen y eut meilleur ordre, qu'on n'eust pensé, ueu la grand foule.

Aussi fut aduisé, que pour euiter cõfusion, les Capitaines, Lieutenantz, & Enseignes marcheroient ensemble de troys à troys, & seroient suyuiz de leurs Bãdes l'un apres l'autre, & chascune en semblable ordre de troys.

Et en premier le Lieutenant du Capitaine de la Ville conduisoit la premiere Bãde mõté sur un grãd Cheual d'Espaigne

gne richement barnaché de houppes d'or & de soye & de pennache: & luy d'une casaque de uelours noir toute espaissement semee de boutons d'or faictz à roses: & audeuant de luy deux laquais uestus de satin bleu. Apres luy les Hacquebusiers de la Ville de troys à troys en nõbre de troys centz trente huict habillez de blanc & noir. A sçauoir, le collet & chausses de uelours noir chargez de boutons & fers d'or: le pourpoint de satin blanc, & doubleure de chausses de taffetas blanc rayé d'or: chascun son mourrion doré auec le pennache de blanc & noir semé de paillettes d'or: la harquebouse & le reste des autres armes semblablement dorez: accompaignez de leur Enseigne ayant au milieu les armes de la Ville, une hacquebute au dessouz, auec leurs Tabourins & Fiffres de mesme liuree, pour un ioyeux commencement de leur suytte.

Au dos desquelz suyuoit la secõde Bande, au premier ranc de laquelle (selon la deliberation de l'ordre, que dict a esté cy dessus) marchoient troys Capitaines, A sçauoir, des Bouchiers, Cartiers, & Costuriers, chascun de la coleur de sa bande. Celluy des Bouchiers uestu de bonnet, collet, pourpoint, chausses, & souliers de uelours cramoisy de haulte coleur, decoupéz & couuertz de gros fers & boutons d'or. Celluy des Cartiers de uelours noir passementé d'argent, boutonné pareillement de gros fers d'or. Celluy des Costuries de noir, blanc, & uert richement passementé & brodé d'or & d'argẽt, leurs piques a ferz doréz garnies par le hault & milieu de uelours: leurs Tabourins & Fiffres deuant eulx habillez de blanc & noir: lesdictz Capitaines suyuiz des Bouchiers en pareil ranc de troys: les six premiers rãgs couuertz de

de Animes & Mourrions dorez : chausses & souliers de uelours rouge: le pennache de mesme coleur : espee & dague dorees, le fourreau de uelours cramoisy. Et apres eulx leurs compaignons habillez de uelours, satin, & le moindre de taffetas cramoisy , leurs piques la plus part dorees , & en nombre de quatre centz soixãte six. Apres lesquelz uenoient leurs troys Enseignes uestus presque comme leurs Capitaines: au deuant d'eulx leurs Tabourins & Fiffres: lesdictz Enseignes suyuis de cent soixãte & douze Cartiers habillez de blanc & noir, le plus de uelours & satin. Apres les troys Lieutenãtz non moins braues, que leurs Capitaines, ayantz leurs Taborins & Fiffres audeuant, & suyuis des Costuriers en compagnie de troys centz trente troys habillez de blanc noir & uert, plaisante fin de la seconde suytte.

En la troysiesme bande troys autres Capitaines furẽt ensemblement rangez: A sçauoir des Tainćturiers uestu de uelours gris & noir richement couuert de fers d'or: Des Orfeures de uelours noir doublé de taffetas blanc doré : & le collet, pourpoint , & chausses garniz de gros Laserans entresemez tant de petitz & gros bouttons , que de fers d'or: Des Tissotiers habillé d'une mesme coleur blãc & noir tout passementé & pourfilé d'or : leur piques iagayees de pareille couleur à fers dorez : Tabourins & Fiffres audeuant. Au pas desquelz les Tainturiers uestus de gris & noir en nombre de quatre centz quarãte six. les cinq ou six premiers rangs couuertz d'Animes & Mourrions (le plus) dorez, estoiẽt suyuiz des troys Enseignes non moins braues & richement accoustrez, tirantz apres eulx deux cẽtz uint & six Orfeures tous greslez & tẽpestez les uns de fers, les autres de boutons d'or

& plu

& plusieurs de croissantz d'argent sur leurs colletz, pourpointz, & chausses de uelours noir merueilleusemẽt beaux à ueoir. Les troys Lieutenantz accompaignez de quatre centz cinquante neuf Tissotiers portantz blanc & noir, & presque tous bõnetz, colletz, chausses & souliers de uelours passementez & pourfilez de cordons d'or & d'argent non moins richement delectables à chascun, que leurs compaignons precedantz.

La quatriesme Bande fut semblablement conduicte par autres troys Capitaines des Charpentiers, Selliers, & Massons, & tous bien en ordre auec leurs Tabourins & Fiffres suyuiz de troys centz & seze Charpentiers uestus de blanc & noir: & sur la queue les troys Enseignes brauement accoustrez marchant deuant deux centz quatre uingtz & six Selliers habillez de blanc noir & rouge: colletz & chausses de uelours noir doublez de satin & taffetas blanc, le pourpoint de satin, ou taffetas rouge cramoisy, qui estoit une fort belle trouppe suyuie de leurs trois Lieutenantz parez de mesme les Capitaines auec trois centz & six Massons de liuree blanc & noir assortiz de Tabourins & Fiffres, augmentant tousiours la ioye du peuple regardant.

Autres troys Capitaines faisoient le premier rang de la cinquiesme Bande: celluy des Tisserantz uestu de bonnet, collet, chausses, & bottines de uelours cramoisy de haulte couleur tant couuertz de riche broderie de gros cordons & canetilles entrelassees de gros fers, petitz & grãdz bouttons d'or, que à peine ueoit on le rouge: celluy des Cordoãniers bonnet, collet chausses, & souliers de uelours noir, pour-

point & le reste de satin blanc, & tout passementé & pourfilé d'or: celluy des Espingliers bonnet, collet, chausses, & souliers de uelours noir: le pourpoint de satin crainoisy, la doubleure des chausses correspondãt, rayez de passementz & trasses d'or. Apres lesquelz passoient quelques premiers rangs armez & accompaignez de deux centz & sept Tisserans portantz rouge & noir: les troys Enseignes derriere eulx braues & bien en ordre, & marchantz deuãt deux centz cinquãte six Cordoanniers uestus de blanc & noir, laissantz à leurs espaules les troys Lieutenantz autant brauement en ordre, & conduisantz centz quatre uingtz & douze Espingliers portantz le pourpoint de uelours, satin, ou taffetas rouge, le collet & bonnet noir auec plume blanche, & grace satisfaisant à chascun.

Tout d'un ordre suruint la sixiesme Bande autãt belle, que plaisante pour la diuersité des couleurs: laquelle cõmença par le rang de ses troys Capitaines de Rue neuue accoustré de uelours noir, blanc, & bleu mouchetté menuement de bouttons d'or, accõpaigné du Capitaine des Chappeliers uestu de uelours blanc & noir & uerd à petitz grains d'or, suyuant d'un mesme pas auec celluy des Fondeurs en habit de uelours blanc, & noir, & aurangé, recamé & bisetté d'argent. Et lequel rang auec ses Tabourins & Fiffres de mesme fut suyuy d'aucuns autres armez de corseletz & animes, & la suytte de Rue neuue en liuree de noir blanc & bleu, & en nombre de quatre centz uingt & troys: lesquelz estoient hastez de troys Enseignes suyuantz auec mesmes couleurs de leurs enseignes, guidantz apres eulx cent soixante & seze Chappellier de blanc noir & uert: Et à la file les troys Lieu-

tenantz, qui renoueloient chascun la braueté de sa bande audeuāt de deux centz uingt & six Fondeurs en accoustrement aurangé de uelours, satin, ou taffetas barré de blanc & noir, au contentement du monde resiouy de les ueoir.

Le long de deux piques, apres Tabourins & Fiffres, troys autres Capitaines faisoient le front de la septiesme Bande, qui estoient: celluy de Sainct Vincent uestu le pourpoint de satin cramoisy decouppé & doublé de taffetas blanc argenté: le coullet de uelours noir decouppé & doublé de pareil taffetas: chausses de satin cramoisy doublés de mesme: les taillades & menues decouppeures entrecloses de fers d'or. Aupres duquel celluy des Pelletiers auec pourpoint de satin gris pourfilé d'or, le bonnet, collet, & chausses de uelours noir doublez de satin gris garnis d'or, tenoit rang auec celluy des Imprimeurs tout uestu de uelours iaulne paillé bissetté d'argent, laissant suyure apres eulx troys centz & trente de Sainct Vincent, un bien grand nombre des premiers armez, & les autres de blanc noir & rouge auec leurs troys Enseignes semblables à leurs Chefz, & marchantz deuant cent quatre uingtz & sept Pelletiers habillez quasi tous de bonnetz & colletz de uelours ferrez d'or: pourpoint & chausses de satin gris: la plume blanche, picques & autres armes dorees, auec les troys Lieutenantz faisantz monstre au dernier squadron de leur compagnie, qui estoient quatre centz & treze Imprimeurs portantz pourpoint, chausses, & souliers iaulnes, le collet & bonnet noir auec le petit touppet de plume blanche sur le derriere, pour la derniere trouppe des gentz de mestier: lesquelz furent tous grandement louez & prisez du Roy,

& de tous autres; & mesmement pour le grand ordre, grauité, & silence, qu'ilz tenoient autant que gentz de guerre sçauroient faire, & sans que l'on ueist aulcun Sergent de bande courant parmy eulx, comme est de costume, ains marchant tousiours auec le Cap de squadre & sans abandonner son rang pour haster, ou ranger la trouppe: qui fut chose aux regardantz esmerueillable, & mesme à tous Capitaines, & entendantz le faict de la guerre, de ueoir si gros nombre de gentz de Ville en si peu de temps, que d'une heure & demye, estre si bien rangez, & en si bel ordre, sans que l'on ueist tout le long de la Ville toussir, ne parler un seul, & sans entrerompre son ordre fust pour saluer aulcun, ou autre occasion quelconque: qui monstroit asses aux cognoissantz, que la plusspart d'eulx auoient quelques fois suyuy les armes. Or nous les lairrons passer deuãt pour faire place aux Nations, qui suyuoient en ceste superbe pompe.

Et premierement uenoient quatre ieunes Pages de la Nation Luquoise habillez à la mode de l'antique Caualllerie Romaine comme de corselletz d'un fin drap d'argent artificiellement umbragé, a gros tymbres sur les espaules bouffantz de toille d'argent, sur lesquelz estoient attachez gueulles de Lions: petitz haultz de chausses uenantz iusques à demy cuisse, petites masquines sur les genoulx: & par dessus un Paludament militaire, qui est un mãteau pareil à celluy, que les Bohemiens portent auiourdhuy, toutesfoys court iusques aux genoulx, & lequel estoit de toille d'argent la plus subtile & deslié, qu'on sçauroit trouuer, bordee tout autour d'un petit bord de frange de soye noire: & semé par dessus de petitz bouttõs noirs à deux doigtz l'un de l'autre: lequel

lequel manteau estoit noüé sur l'espaule droicte, & rebrassé sur l'autre le demourant du corps tout nud, comme bras & iambes, & la teste à cheueulx crespez à la Cesariane: montez sur quatre grandz cheuaulx autant beaulx qu'il est possible Harnachez d une petite housse de mesme toille d'argent iusques au dessouz du uentre du Cheual, le bas a lambeaux rondz enrichiz de force houppes de fil d'argent: la bride seulement d'un gros cordon d'argẽt: le pennache blanc paillettè d'or Et ainsi marchoiẽt iceux Pages le petit pas asses loing l'un de l'autre: & quelque foys par interualle faisoient bondir leurs cheuaulx de si bonne grace, que chascun prenoit grãd plaisir à les ueoir, & se tenir si bien sans selle, ny estrieu.

A leur queüe marchoient les gentz de pied de ladicte Nation en bon nombre de deux à deux uestus de uelours blanc à petites menues bandes de uelours noir par dessus, & du long dudict accoustrement.

Apres eulx uenoit la Seigneurie Luquoise tous uestus de bonnetz, chausses, Iuppes, & robes de uelours noir doubles de satin noir à collet renuersé: montez sur Mulles harnachees & housees de mesme uelours, marchant semblablement deux à deux en grauité de magnificence & nombre requis pour merueilleusement esbahir, & contenter les yeulx des regardantz.

Tout ioingnant d'eulx cheuauchoient suyuamment les Pages de la Nation Florentine en nombre de six: les deux premiers beaux enfantz de sept ou huict ans: la seconde couple de l'eage de enuiron treze ans: les derniers de seze à dix

ſeptans, montéz tous ſur fort beaulx Cheuaulx Turcz harnachéz de toille d'argent brodé de ſoye noire, auec petites houſſes de uelours noir à broderie de fil d'argent, & grand plumes noires & blanches ſur l'oreille. Leſdictz Pages ueſtus de caſaques de toille d'argent à une grand manche pendant du coſté gauche brodee de noir & blanc: fort beaux chappeaux de toille d'argent à la Pollacque, marchantz fierement, & d'une eſpace entre eulx moiennement diſtante. Leſquelz furent incōtinent preſſez de la Seigneurie Florentine en nombre de trente ſept, ſe coſtoiant deux à deux ſur grandz Cheuaux Turcz, & Genetz d'Eſpaigne, & en grand reſpect d'ordre: A ſcauoir, un rang de cheuaux Turcz, & l'autre de Genetz, tous harnachéz & couuertz de houſſes de uelours noir. Et leſdictz Seigneurs Florētins ueſtus de robe de uelours cramoiſy rouge de haulte couleur à collet quarré double d'un fort beau drap d'or uiolet, pluſieurs gros bouttons d'or aux māches: Le ſaye de ſatin uiolet cramoiſy brodé d'or: les hauz de chauſſes de uelours rouge cramoiſy, & le bas d'eſcarlatte: bōnetz & ſouliers de uelours noir Chaſque rang d'eulx auoit deuāt ſoy quatre Laquais ayantz bōnetz, pourpoint, & chauſſes de ſatin blanc bigarré de noir, & un collet de uelours noir: plumes blanches & noires: chaſcun ſon eſpee garnie d'argent. Au dernier rang leur Conſul au millieu de ſes deux Conſeilliers paſſantz quelque peu plus leurs cōpaignons en riche magnificence d'un meſme accouſtrement & telle certes, qu'elle ne pouoit eſtre aſſes contemplee en paſſant pour le grand deſir, que le monde prenoit à ueoir ſi ſuperbe & riche compagnie.

Tout d'un fil uindrent Meſsieurs les Milanois en pareil ordre de deux à deux ueſtus de robe de meſme facon de da-

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mas noir à grãdz fleurs, troys petitz canons de uelours tout autour, fers & bouttons d'or semez espais sur les manches: sayes à manche bordé cõme dessus: chausses de uelours à broderie: bonnetz & souliers de uelours: montez tous sur hacquenées en harnois de uelours iusques aux estriuieres auec la grãd housse de drap noir à troys bandes de uelours: chascun deux Laquais deuant soy en pourpoint & chausses de satin cramoisy doublez de taffetas rouge: bonnet, soliers, ceincture, fourreau d'espee & dague de uelours rouge: la plume blanche, & en compagnie suffisante pour satisfaire grandement, uoire aux plus delicatement uoyantz.

Pour les derniers des Nations uenoient Messieurs les Allemans portãtz pourpoint de satin blanc decouppé & doublé de toille d'argẽt: la casaque de satin noir à grãd bande de uelours noir decouppé: le bonnet de uelours: & montez sur gros Rousins, le harnois & housse courte de uelours noir frangé d'argent: chascun son Laquais habillé de chausses & pourpoint de satin blanc à passementz blancz frizez bouffantz de taffetas noir.

Furent suyuiz lesdictz Seigneurs Allemans de la Iustice ordinaire de la Ville: A scauoir, en premier les Sergentz de Monseigneur le Reuerendissime Cardinal de Ferrare Arceuesque & Conte de Lyon uenantz à Cheual deux à deux en saye de drap incarnat, vne manche & bort large de broderie blanc & noir, couleurs dudict Seigneur Cardinal, auec leur Preuost, les Greffiers, & la Crie deuant le Lieutenant de Monsieur le Iuge accõpaigné de Messieurs le Promoteur, Aduocat, & autres Officiers dudict Seigneur Reuerendiss.

Et peu apres marchoient les Sergentz Royaux a Cheual portantz leurs bastons painctz d'azur & semez de fleurs de

lys d'or au deuant des Greffiers de la Seneschausée. Apres lesquelz uenoiēt Messieurs les Esleuz & Receueurs non loing de Messieurs les Lieutenantz general & particulier, Monsieur le Conseruateur, suyuiz de Messieurs les gentz du Roy & Conseilliers du Parlement de Dombes, tous uestus de grandz robes de satin, damas, & taffetas, sur Mulles harnechees de uelours, grandz housses de fin drap noir.

Messieurs les Notables, Bourgeois, & Citoiens de la Ville sur leurs Mulles & Hacquenees la bride de uelours, la housse de drap, & eulx accoustrez honnestement, chascun selon son estat & pouoir, de robes de soye & drap, tenoient le dernier rang deuant les Enfantz de la Ville en grand multitude & bel ordre.

Icy cōmenca à se monstrer l'auantgarde de la fanterie de Messieurs les Enfantz de la Ville, laquelle estoit de soyxante tant corseletz, que Animes, auec Mourrions, espees, & dagues, le tout mignonnement doré: le pennache de la couleur desdictz Enfantz de Ville, qui estoit meslée auec celle du Roy & de la Ville, comme de blanc, noir, & rouge: la pique a fer doré, au bout, & au millieu reuestue de uelours des mesmes couleurs rouge blanc & noir: & ainsi marchoient en rang de troys, qui estoit une trouppe de grand monstre & braue à merueilles.

Apres lesquelz uenoient douze Gladiateurs, ou Combatans, desarmez, six uestus de satin blanc, six de satin cramoisy en quatre rangs de troys à troys. Lesquelz arriuez deuant la loge du Roy, se planterent en la presence de sa Mageste, & là

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commencerent un combat à l'antique, non quãt aux armes, mais quãt à l'ordre de se sçauoir secourir, & entrer les rangz les uns dans les autres sans se rompre. Au reste ilz combatoient premierement à armes differentes, A sçauoir, une Corsesque, ou Iagaye contre une espee à deux mains. Et combien que ce fussent armes longues, & qui requierent lieu large & spacieux pour s'en ayder, si estoient elles au mylieu de leur rang, & en rue non gueres ouuerte. Les autres combatoient de deux espees contre une espee & une imbrassiature, qui est un pauoys le long d'un bras, & un pied de largeur ployant en rond: les autres de l'espee & poignard Bolognois contre espee & bouclier Barselonnois. Et ainsi ordonnez le second rang se tourna deuers le tiers. Et apres s'estre regardé l'un l'autre, commenca d'une grande roideur à assaillir le troisiesme rang auec leurs susdictes armes tranchantes & non fainctes, & en telle fureur, que, apres auoir long temps chamaillé l'un sur l'autre, les secondz rambarrerent leurs aduersaires iusques aux quatriesmes: lesquelz voyantz leurs compaignons hors d'alaine & repoulsez, entrerent dens eulx repoulsant aussi uirilement les secondzià lassez & trauaillez, se defendantz toutesfois & soubstenant courageusement iusques à leurs compaignons, qui faisoient le premier rang: lequel pareillement entra au secours par dedans eulx. Et cependant que les deux rangz, qui premiers auoient combatu, reprenoient uent, se ioignit à leurs ennemys. Et en ceste ruse d'ordre le premier & dernier rang se trouuerent au mylieu combatantz en telle furie, qu'il ny eut si bone Iagaye, qui ne fut couppee en deux & troys troncons, la plus part de leurs espees, tant à deux mains, que des autres (quelque uielles lames quelles fussent) uolerent en

pieces : qui espouanta de prime face les regardantz ignorantz leur adresse, & tellement que de plusieurs lieux on crioit qu'on les secourust, ou qu'on les despartit. Et sur ce l'un des deux premiers rãgs lassez, ayant pris air frais, entra dans le rang de ses compaignons: & ainsi en front de six se getterent tous ensemble sur le rang de troys, qui tint asses longuement bon, combatant deux contre un iusques à ce que estant par trop presse de si lourde charge, fut constrainct de se retirer, en soubstenant toutesfoys uirilement iusques aux derniers, lesquelz pour leur secours se rangerent parmy eulx d'une si grande adresse, qu'il se trouuerent six cotre six. Et à lors se chargeantz d'une grãde uiolance se rancontrerent armes pareilles: Iagaye cõtre Iagaye: espee à deux mains cõtre espee à deux mains, deux espees cõtre deux espees, & ainsi des autres: & de telle impetuosité, qu'a la fin les uns enfoncerent les autres. Et toutesfoys tant les rompus, que les autres, sans se mettre en desordre, soubdainement monstrerent face les uns aux autres, & se rechargerent si uertement, que les premiers rompus enfoncerent aussi les autres auec autant de bonne grace & ioye sur la fin, qu'ilz auroient esté au cõmencement effroy & craincte aux regardantz. Lequel passetemps fut le premier & celluy, qui aye donné autant de satisfaction à sa Mageste, cõme d'une nouuelle mode de combatre & si dangereuse, en sorte qu'il la uoulut encor reueoir six iours apres son entrée. Le plaisir de ce combat dura quelque peu plus de demye heure, & eust recõmencé, si leurs armes ne fussent si tost fallies au bon uoloir, qu'ilz auoient de mieulx faire : quelque pleins de sueur, & hors d'alaine qu'ilz fussent. Et ainsi s'estant retrouuez en leur premier ordre se mirent apres l'auãgarde, qui les atten-

doit

doit au retour de la rue sans se mouuoir de leur ordõnance, quelque enuie que le son & bruyt des armes leur donnast, & mesmemẽt que peu sçauoient ceste entreprise, qui ne pouoit moins, que leur augmenter d'auantaige le desir de ueoir.

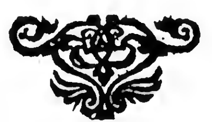
Et ainsi en ceste constance & grauité de marcher, tant ceulx de deuant, que les premiers suyuantz lesdictz Gladiateurs, poursuyuirent leur ordre. Au premier rancontre les Fiffres & Tabourins deuant douze Partesaniers de la garde du Capitaine de la susdicte fanterie uestus de gris blanc & noir, liuree de leur Chef, & à l'antique, se rangerent à la file des autres troys à troys. Et à leur dernier pas uenoit le Capitaine seul & premier marchant deuant toute sa bande, & presque d'une mesme facon d'accoustrement auec les siens, & de leur mesme couleur dessusdicte: le corps & tout ce qui en pouoit dependre, de rouge: le reste de blanc & noir, differemment toutesfoys, & chascun selon son pouoir: les uns de uelours rouge cramoisy, & de haulte couleur: les autres de toille d'or rouge: quelques autres de drap d'or figuré de uelours rouge, & autour dudict uelours enrichy de broderie de cordons & petites chaynes d'or: & les moindres de satin cramoisy. Leur accoustrement suyuoit à peu pres la mode des sayes militaires Romains, ou bien leurs cuyraces, & neantmoins sans hault de manches, ce que les Romains portoient, & tel le portoit aussi le susdict Capitaine à difference des autres. Mais tous ceulx de sa Bande & des gentz de Cheual auec une trop plus grand grace imitoient plus proprement la forme du corps d'un Allecret d'auiourduy. A sçauoir, le deuant du saye ne montant plus hault que le deuant de la poytrine, & le dessus quarré iusques aux

ioinctures des espaules, uuydant en rond par dessouz l'esselle: le derrier de semblable esquarreure, & finissent en bas à l'estendue de la buste. Tout autour un tissu ou passement d'or ou d'argent le large de deux poinctes de doigt garny de perles à gros bouttons faictz à bouillons de Turquoises, ou aultre pierrerie. Tout le reste couuert d'une Moresque de la plus riche broderie de guypure de fin or, qu'on pourroit ueoir, enrichie par dedans de roses & fleurs de moiennes & menues perles. Le bas du saye à double lambeaux: les dessus quarrez, les autres rondz en escaille: chascun d'iceulx bordé de passementz d'or, & recamé de mesme guypure. Au dessouz desquelz lambeaux pendoit une falde (qui est un bas de saye descendant un peu plus que demy cuisse) de toille d'or noire, uelours, ou satin noir de semblable recameure que celle du pourpoint, lequel estoit aussi de toille d'or, uelours, ou satin noir couuert descailles à gros doubles cordons de fil d'argent: le collet hault, & par le dessus duquel le collet aussi de la chemise ouuré à fin or & perles se renuersoit en bas, & dessus le deuant de la manche estroicte dudict pourpoint: & dans chasque escaille en l'une un boutton d'or, en l'autre une perle, & en plusieurs estoilles & croissantz d'or ou d'argent. Le deuāt & derriere du corps dudict saye se ioignoit par dessouz l'esselle auec courtes bandes en mode de lames, qui estoient pareillement de tissu, ou passement d'or ou d'argent: Et par dessus chasque espaule de deux courroies, comme d'un Corselet, la dessouz plus large & rouge, selon le saye: la dessus toute d'or à gros bouttons garnis de pierrerie & aultre riche estoffeure. Au plus hault de la poytrine droict au milieu, & au dessouz du tissu ou passement estoit attaché une grosse teste de Lion, aux uns toute d'or,

d'or, à plusieurs d'argent doré serrant une boucle d'or entre les dentz, & en lieu d'yeulx, dyamantz, rubys, ou grosses perles: & une autre pareille teste entre les deux espaules. Aux anneaux desquelles estoient attachees à plusieurs grosses chaines d'or, & à maintz autres deux tissus, ou corroies de uelours, ou satin cramoisy garnies de bouttons estoffez de diuers enrichissementz. Au bout desquelles pendoit la petite cymeterre expressement forgee de deux piedz & demy pour le plus: dont le pommeau estoit d'une teste de lyon ou griffon d'or, les yeulx & langues de pierrerie: & pour la garde une teste de Bouc sauluage, les cornes duquel estoient estendues, & seruoient de croisee: & le bout d'une masque d'or de beste estrange, par la gueule de laquelle issoit le bout de la gaine, qui estoit de uelours ou satin cramoisy rouge, & seruoit de languette. Les chausses estoient au surplus toutes de drap blanc, le hault recamé & brodé d'or semé de perles: & les petites bottines de toille d'or, uelours, ou satin noir, le derriere uuydé selon la rondeur du bortet de la iambe, & le deuãt esleué en poincte iusques à my greue: aulcunes brodees à escailles d'argent, & au milieu force bouttons d'or & perles: autres de diuerse broderie. Le Mourrion à creste de uelours, ou toille d'or noire à gros feuillages releuez de fine broderie d'or, & par dedans à petites escailles de cordons d'argent entresemees de perles & bouttons, & autre riche pierrerie: le dessus de la creste, & tout le bord d'autour listé de perles uniment grosses: le gros pennache double sur le derriere de rouge blanc & noir reluisant d'ung grand nombre de pailletes d'or & perles menues: Portantz tous en la main droicte une Iagaiette d'un dard & demy de Bresil ayãt son fer à chasque bout expressement forgé à l'antique ã dou-

ble repriſe tout doré,& les deux boutz de la hante garnie de uelours, bouquetz de franges,& houppes à cordons penden tes de blãc & noir : car le boys, qui eſtoit rouge, acheuoit la couleur de leur deuiſe. Et en ceſte mode le Capitaine marchoit au deuant des ſiens, qui le ſuyuoient d'aſſes bon interualle de troys à troys, le bras du baſton long pendãt,& l'autre main ſur la poignee de la cymeterre : qui faiſoit eſmerueiller le monde de ueoir tant admirable compagnie de enuiron huict uingtz tous d'une pareure, d'un ordre, & d'une grauité: leur Portenſeigne au mylieu auec ſa garde, Tabourins, & Fiffres de meſme ſorte: la grand enſeigne de taffeta cramoiſy trainant iuſqu'a terre, & au mylieu un grãd Lion d'argent rampant, qui ſont les armes de la Ville. Le Lieutenant à la queue conduiſant l'arriegarde de autres ſoixante tant Allecretz, que Animes ſuperbement dorez : & ſur le Mourrion doré le gros pennache blanc & noir & rouge : Et chauſſes d'eſcarlatte : ſcalpins, ou bottines de uelours rouge cramoiſy. Et en telle ſilence requiſe à leur braueté s'entreſuyuantz de pas lent & graue, ie uous laiſſe à penſer, lequel eſtoit plus grand, ou le contentement, ou l'esbaiſſement de chaſcun de tous ceulx, qui en les regardant leur ſembloit perdre la ueüe en l'admiration d'une choſe incroyable.





La figure du Capi-
taine a pied.





MAIS AINSI QVE chascun se seignoit des merueilles, qu'il ne pouoir croire, non à ses propres yeulx, uoicy une fanfare de douze Trompettes à Cheual, chascun sa cotte d'armes auec la bannerolle de taffetas bleu pẽdant à leurs trõpettes, lesquelz firent remettre le monde aux fenestres, & se presser l'un l'autre pour ueoir six Pages d'honneur, qui uenoient apres eulx sur les grandz Cheuaulx du Capitaine de la Cauallerie des Enfantz de la Ville uestus aussi de bleu, couleur dudict Capitaine: les Cheuaulx tous harnachez de uelours de la propre couleur brodez & porfilez d'argent: le grand pennache sur l'aureille paillleté d'or, chose non moins resiouyssante, que agreable. Non loing desquelz le Capitaine, son Lieutenant, & Enseigne en la suytte de soixante & dix uenoient tous parez de la mesme facon & enrichissement, que ceulx de pied, fors des bottines, & du Mourrion, qui estoient rouges de toille d'or, uelours, ou satin cramoisy brodez de la mesme guypure de leurs sayes, & en telle & pareille richesse de pierrerie: leurs espees non pendentes, ains attachees au costé, la plus part a grosses chaynes d'or: chascun ses deux Laquais deuant soy: les uns portantz la deuise de leurs maistres, les autres de la compagnie. Et estoit ledict Capitaine, & sa trouppe sur grandz Cheuaux Turcz, Barbres, & Genetz d'Espaigne harnachez de doubles caparassons: celluy de dessus de drap d'argent à bandes, croisures, & entrelassures de satin cramoisy, ou toille d'or rouge couuerte de riche broderie semez de perles, & le bas faict à lambeaux quarrez à grandz houp

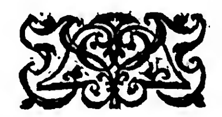
houppes d'or & de perles. Et celluy de dessouz de toille d'or noire, uelours a lambeaux rondz brodé à double escaille de cordons d'argent, & en chascune escaille un bouton d'or & perle entremeslez, correspondant au pourpoint & bas du saye pour augmẽter la grace: force houppes de fil d'argent, & soye noire auec petites timballes d'argent si plaisamment resonantes, que l'harmonie de leur doulx son ne chatouilloit moins les esperitz du peuple estonné, que l'esclair des pierreries reluisantes esblouissoit les yeulx de tel, qui en les uoyant ne scauoit s'il songeoit, ou uiuoit. Car à la uerité c'estoit plus tost une droicte faerie, que chose uraysemblable. Et qui accroissoit merueille sur merueille, c'estoit de ueoir le Capitaine, Lieutenãt, Portenseigne, & bõne part des autres si dextres à cheual, & si bien le scachant manier, faire pennades, bõdir, uoltiger, & redoubler le sault en l'air: qui ne pouuoit donner que grand plaisir au Roy, aux Princes & autres Gentilz hõmes, non sans s'esbahir de les uoir (pour gẽtz de uille, & non appellez à celà) si à droictz, qu'il seroit presque impossible de mieulx faire. Ce qui tourna à une non petite loüange, mesmement à ceulx, qui s'y porterent glorieusement à leur honneur, & contentement du monde tout esperdu de ioye & d'aise.



D



La figure du Capitaine a Cheual.



SVYVAMMENT VEnoient à cheual les quatre Mãdeurs de la uille auec leurs grandz robes à une manche descarlate aux armoiries & deuise de la Ville à riche & grosse broderie. Et apres eulx le Capitaine de la Ville ayant deuant soy douze hommes uestus de satin bleu & blanc: & luy uestu d'un casaquin de uelours noir espaissement greslé de grãdz & petitz tant boutons, que fers d'or: monté sur un grand Genet harnaché de uelours noir couuert de diuers passementz & porfileures de gros cordons & houppes d'or, uenant le pas au deuant de Messieurs les Conseilliers & Escheuins de la Ville uestus de robes de satin noir, sayes de uelours, pourpointz de satin cramoisy, montez sur Mulles harnachees de uelours noir, la housse longue de fin drap noir, marchant deux à deux, & chascun deuant soy deux laquais uestus de satin cramoisy uiolet decouppé & doublé de taffetas blanc. Et apres eux le Procureur, Conterrolleur, Voyer, Receueur, Secretaire, & autres Officiers de la Maison cõmune representant tout le corps de la Ville en magnificence honnorable, & condigne certes au degré de leur estat & honneur requis au debuoir politique. Et neantmoins (quant à l'oeil, & plaisance) seruantz de lustre, cõme bien loing inferieurs à la braueté & allegre suytte des Gentilz hõmes de la chambre du Roy, qui aussi tost suruindrent apres eulx, auec autres de la maison dudict Seigneur sur leurs grandz cheuaulx deux à deux tant braues, & richement equippez, que rien plus: Aulcuns uoltigeantz a la fois deuant les Dames, puis se remettans en leurs rancz: les au-

tres deuisantz modestement ensemble, qui estoit un Paradis de plaisir à regarder. Sur la fin desquelz Monsieur le Mareschal de Sainct André uenoit brauement & mignonement monté.

Sur ce le Capitaine des Suisses de la garde du Roy auec son Tabourin & Fiffre, & toute sa trouppe de troys à troys uestus de chausses & pourpoint esquartellez de toille d'argent & uelours noir decouppez à grandz balaffres, & doublez de taffetas argenté, chascun sa hallebarde sur l'espaule, firent signe que sa Mageste ne resteroit guieres à uenir, eulx marchant deuant Messieurs les Cardinaulx de Ferrare, Guise, Vendosme, L'orraine, Bourbon & la Chambre, les Pages d'honneur portantz chascun un esperon doré en la main deuāt Monsieur le grand Escuyer maniant un baston blanc au poing, & cheuauchant à main gauche, & laissant la place de Monseigneur le Conestable à la droicte, comme s'il y fust present. Icy uenoit sa Sacrée Mageste uestue d'un riche saye tout d'orfeurerie de fin or, & presque tout couuert de pierrerie de pris inestimable, & tant reluisante de toutes partz, qu'elle ostoit la ueüe aux regardātz. Son Cheual couuert si mignonnement & richement de harnacheure & capparassonnement d'une si gentile entrelasseure de gros cordons & houppes d'or, qu'il ne seroit possible de les pouoir representer, comme presque incomprenables par la ueüe. Apres luy uenoit Monseigneur de Vendosme seul, & suyuy du rang de Messeigneurs ses freres, Monsieur le Prince de la Rochesurion. Monsieur de Nemours.

Apres lesquelz suyuoient Monsieur de sainct André,

Mon

Monsieur de Maugeron, Monsieur de Canaples, & aultres Cheualiers de l'ordre suyuis des Archiers de la garde.

En ce triumphant & admirable equipage le Roy marcha le long du fauxbourg de Vaise iusques à Pierrencise, ou au dessouz du Chasteau ueit à main gauche une haulte Obelisque en forme de Piramide quarree de soixante troys piedz & plus de haulteur, le pedestal de douze, taillé à la rustique, aux deux frontz duquel estoit escript.

NOMEN QVI TERMINAT ASTRIS.

rencontrant conuenablement bien à un croissant d'argent de trois piedz & plus de centre, lequel estoit au fin sommet de la poincte de la montee de ladicte Obelisque haulte de cinquante piedz, & soubstenue sur quatre grandz Lions de la haulteur d'un pied & demy couchez sur les quatre coings du pedestal, & tenantz chascun l'escusson de la Ville. Le plus hault de ladicte Obelisque iusques asses bas se monstroit taillé à la rustique. Et en certains endroitz sur l'areste des coings d'icelle aulcunes pierres quarrees, qui se desmentissoient, & entre les fentes herbe naturelle approchāt mieulx son antiquité. Le bas qui uenoit en eslargissant, faict à pans ou paneaux l'un sur l'aultre separez, & enuironnez tout autour de leur moulure de marbre gris, le dedans peinct: le premier de la deuise du Roy de deux grandz arcz Turquois auec leurs forces rompues, le croissant d'argent au mylieu, & une grand coronne de France timbrée au dessus. Au secōd la chiffre dudict Seigneur, qui sont deux D. & une H. entrelassez ensemble & coronnez. Au plus bas les armoiries de France. Vray est que sur les deux frontz regardantz tant sur le costé de la riuiere, que sur celluy du chemin droict au lieu

desdictes armoiries estoit un compartiment aorné de grotesques de bien bonne grace de aulcunes Victoires par le dessus auec leurs chappeaux de laurier, & palmes es mains. Et en bas, comme soubz leurs piedz, Discordes auec leurs grandz aesles de papillons distinguees à yeulx, lesquelles souffloient & allumoient feu dans des uases bas antiques, lequel estoit estainct par petitz Amours uersantz eau de grace dessus. Et sembloit que les susdictes Furies souffrissent bien grand peine à souffler pour le r'allumer.

Et au mylieu de tout le susdict compartiment estoit escript en grosse lettre Romaine.

TOTIVS GALLIAE RESTAVRATORI M. PLANCVS LVGDVNI RESTAVRATOR.

P. C.



L'obeliſque.



A COSTE DE LADICTE Obelisque, & de la main droicte, estoit un preau ceinct sur le grand chemin d'une muraille de quelque peu plus de six piedz de haulteur, & ledit preau ausi hault de terre, & lequel auoit esté distinctement remply d'arbres de moyenne fustaie entreplantez de taillis espais, & à force touffes d'autres petitz arbrisseaux accompaignantz la descente de la montaigne du Chasteau pleine semblablement d'arbres fruictiers. Et en ceste petite forest s'esbatoient petitz Cerfz, Biches, & Chevreux (toutesfois priuez) & lors sa Mageste entreoüit aulcuns cornetz sonner: & tout ausi tost apperceut uenir à trauers ladicte forest Dyane chassant auec ses Compaignes: Elle tenant en la main un riche arc Turquois auec sa trousse pendente au costé, acoustree en atour de Nymphe, le corps duquel estoit auec un demy bas à six grandz lambeaux rōdz de toille d'or noire semé d'estoilles d'argent: les manches & le demourāt de satin cramoisy auec porfilure d'or: troussee iusques à demye iambe descouurant ses bottines à l'antique, & de satin cramoisy, couuertes de broderie & perles: ses cheueulx entrelassez de gros cordons de riches perles auec quantité de bagues & Ioyaux de grand ualeur, & au dessus du frōt un petit croissant d'argent. Ses Compaignes aornees chascune de diuerse facon d'acoustrement antique de satin & taffetas tant rayé d'or, que autrement, & de plusieurs couleurs haultes entremeslees pour la gayetté, chaussees de bottines riches de uelours ou satin: La teste illustree de diuers Ioyaux de grand monstre, Aulcunes cōduisoient petitz Leuriers &

Espai

Espaigneux en lesse de gros cordons de soye blanche & noire. Autres portoient petitz dartz de Bresil, le fer doré à belles petites houppes pendantes de blãc & noir: le cornet de Bouffle morné d'or ou d'argent pendant en escarpe à cordons de fil d'argẽt & soye noire. Et ainsi qu'elles apperceurent sa Sacree Mageste, un Lion sortit du boys, qui se uint getter aux piedz de ladicte Deesse, luy faisant feste. Laquelle, le uoyant ainsi mansuete, doulx, & priué, le print auec un lien noir & blanc, & sur l'heure le presenta au Roy ainsi qu'il passoit. Et s'approchant auec le Lion humilié iusques sur le bort du mur du preau ioignant le chemin, & à un pas près de sa Mageste luy dict asses haultement.

Le grand plaisir de la chasse usitee,
Auquel par montz, uallees, & campaignes
Ie m'exercite auecques mes Compaignes,
Iusqu'en uoz boys, Sire, m'ha incitee:
Ou ce Lion d'amour inusitee
S'est uenu rendre en ceste nostre bande,
Lequel soubdain à sa priuaulté grande
I'ay recongneu, & aux gestes humains,
Estre tout uostre: Aussi entre uoz mains
Ie le remetz, & le uous recommande.

Ce dict d'une bien bonne grace, toutes luy firent la reuerence. Et sa Mageste l'ayant ententiuement escoutee, & toutes regardees & saluees, se partit content de leur plaisante chasse & d'asses iolye inuention. Non guieres loing de là ueit la Porte de Pierrencise, contre laquelle estoit affigé un plaquart d'un portal antique à doubles Colonnes tortues,

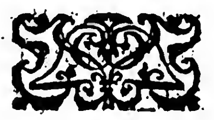
cannellees, & fueillees. Au front duquel estoit peinct un parc de France semé de Lys, enuironné d'une cloison des chiffres & deuises Royalles entrelassees d'une subtile grace bien à propos cõtrouee, ayãt une entree ouuerte, & gardee par un Lion. Et au mylieu dudict parc deux Dames estoient assises en atour de Deesses, celle de la part droicte embrassant l'autre du bras gauche, & luy asseurãt la foy de la main droicte, auec un petit chien se ioüant à elle, & laquelle signifioit Fidelité. L'aultre luy presentoit un baiser, & de la dextre luy cõfirmoit aussi la foy, s'appuyant du bras gauche sur un ioug de bœuf tout droict pour monstrer qu'elle estoit Obeissance. Dedans le frontispice au dessus d'elles estoit escript en un compartiment de massonerie. SEDES VBI FATA QVIETAS. Et au premier des deux rouleaux, qui le tenoient attaché. TVAE SECVRITAS REIP. En l'autre. CVI FIDES ET AMOR OBEDIVNT. Aux pedestaulx separément.

Salue ô Rex fœlix qui nostra ad limina tendis
Visurus fidamq; domum, fidosq; Penates

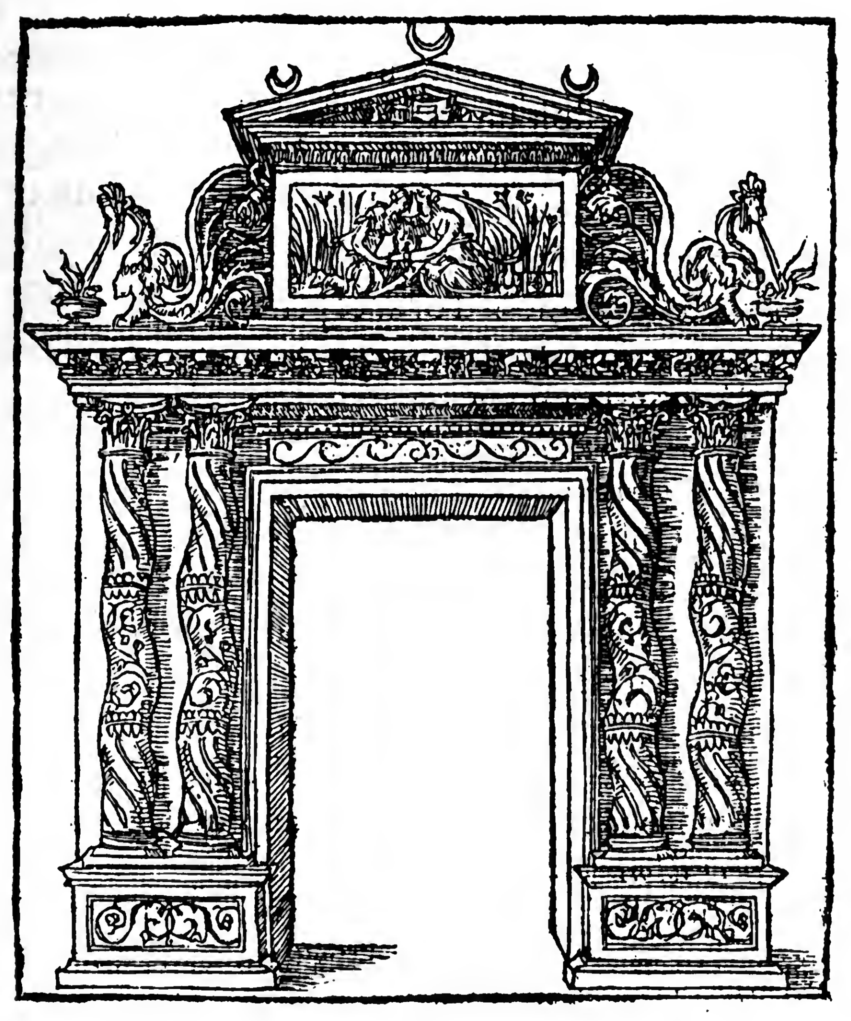
Aux deux coings, & au mylieu sur le hault du portal troys uases pleins de flammes, par dedãs lesquelles rameaux & fleurs denotoient feu d'allegresse & de ioye.



Le



Le Portal de Pierrencise.





AV DEDANS DE LA Ville sur ladicte porte estoit peincte l'hystoire d'Androdus, comme elle est taillee en marbre à Rome, lequel tire une espine à un Lion, & au dessus escript. GENEROSE PIO GENEROSA PIETAS. Et tout autour enrichy de festons, armoiries, masques de bronze, d'or, & d'argent entrefichez & ceinctz d'or cliquant.

Suyuant plus oultre paruint à la place de la porte Bourgneuf, en laquelle estoit un Arc triumphal seruant d'entree de porte d'enuiron cinquante piedz de haulteur à doubles grandz Colonnes de douze piedz cannellees, le Chapiteau base & dorez, & esleuees sur faces de pedestaulx enrichis de masques & testes de Lions d'or auec pentes de festons au dessus des compartimentz, dans lesquelz estoit escript moytie d'un costé, moytie d'autre.

Hoc quoniam non es veritus concredere nobis
Accipe communis munera lætitiæ

Entre les Colonnes estoient deux nidz, ou parquetz de chasque costé. Aux premiers, & plus bas desquelz estoit en l'un *Bellona* presentant au Roy un armet: à ses piedz un tableau droict, ou estoit graué.

Quæ tibi iam socia est, tibi non Bellona timorem incutiet.

De l'autre part oppositement Victoire luy presentant sa palme, & coronne de Laurier, ayant aupres de soy escript.

Cedetq; tibi Victoria palmam.

Aux dessus estoit d'une part Paix, d'une main tenant son rameau d'Oliuier, & de l'aultre un flambeau, duquel elle brusloit un harnois: en son tillet.

Seu

Seu pacem terris, seu mecum uiuere cures.

De l'autre Concorde portant entre ses bras une ruche de Mousches à miel : en sa table d'attente.

Concordes animos, fœlicia regna uidebis.

Au grãd front en grãdes & grosses lettres estoit tout remply de ce, qui s'ensuit. INGREDERE HENRICE INGREDERE FRANCORVM REX CHRISTIANISS. VRBEM TVAM ANTIQVAM ROMANORVM COLONIAM VT DEVOTISS. CIVIBVS TVIS SECVRITATEM REIP. PRAESTES. AETERNAM. Et dedãs le retour ioignant ledict front estoient de chasque costé un parquet en ligne perpendiculaire des dessoubz : en l'un desquelz Mars tenoit son espee au poing, son pauois au bras, & sa Louue alaictant Romus & Romulus, & escript.

Et regere Imperio, dabiturq́; domare superbos.

Et de l'autre part Iupiter appuyé de la main gauche sur son Aigle regardant en bas, le bras droict hault, en sa main son fouldre, signifiant cecy insculpé aupres de luy.

Quos ego sub terras, adigamq́; hoc fulmine ad ymbras.

Et au tympane du frontispice Dyane assise sus un roc, monstrant un grãd croissant d'argent, auquel estoit escript en lieu des caracteres noir, qu'on uoit en la Lune *Lumen æternum.* Accompaignee des deux Nymphes assises bas aupres d'elle auec leurs chiens. Sur la montee du frontispice, & aux deux boutz de sa descente troys assiettes, & sur chascune un grand Lion à croupy sur ses pattes derriere : les deux extremitez serrantz entre leurs iambes d'embas, & par le hault

ſoubſtenantz des deux pattes deuant les eſcuſſons des armoiries du Roy, & de la Royne. Et celluy du mylieu, & le plus hault des troys eſtoit coronné d'une grand coronne à poinctes d'or ſoubſtenant entre ſes bras un grand croiſſant d'argent.

A coſté dudict Arc ioignoit une muraille à la ruſtique ruinee en pluſieurs lieux: & au deſſus de laquelle eſtoient encor reſté quelque fragmentz de cornices auec baſes, & demy Colonnes pour mieulx repreſenter ſon antiquité. Et regnoit ladicte muraille iuſques aux Roches de ladicte place, leſquelles eſtoient couuertes en pluſieurs endroitz de Geneures, Genetz, & Bouys, ſoubz l'umbrage deſquelz s'eſbatoient pluſieurs Satyres & Faunes, deſpuis le bas du nombril en deſſus, hommes & nudz, toutesfois haſlez, les cheueulx & barbe heriſſez, deux cornes ſur le front: & des le uentre en bas les iambes courbes & uelues, auec piedz de Chieure. L'un perché tout debout ſur le ſommet d'un roc, l'autre couché ſur la mouſſe: autres aſsis, une iambe ſeulement pendant en bas: iouantz tous enſemble de diuers inſtrumentz à uent, comme Hauxboys, Douſſaines, Sourdeines, & Cornetz, & d'une ſi allegre harmonie, qu'elle reſueilloit le cœur, & les oreilles des paſſantz.

Celà ueu & contemplé bonne eſpace, paſſa ſoubz l'arc, la uoulte duquel eſtoit compartie de pluſieurs beaux compartimentz remplis de groſſes & diuerſes roſes & fleurs de boſſe dorees & argẽtees. Laquelle alloit mourir en profondeur de quarante piedz iuſques au deſſus de la porte de la Ville: un grãd reſpirail au mylieu en forme ouale pour receuoir iour

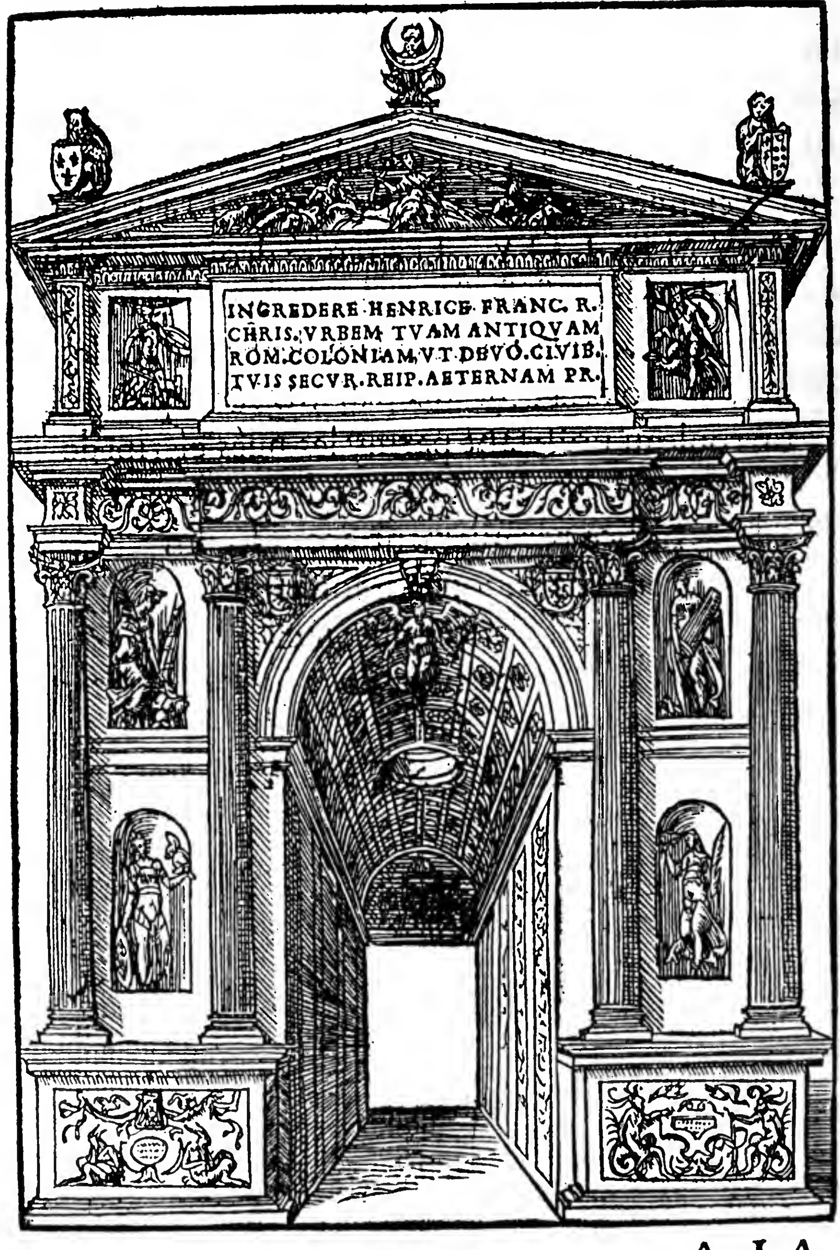
lequel

lequel estoit enuironné par dehors d'une grãd coronne d'or à fleurs de Lys. Au dessus de la montee, & des flans de ladicte uoulte peinct de belles & plaisantes grotesques : le dessoubz à la rustique. Sur ledict portail de Bourgneuf sont les armoiries de France taillées en pierre auec un Lion derriere, qui les soubstient, & deux Anges, qui les accompaignent, richement estoffez d'or & d'azur, les deux Anges tenãtz les boutz d'un escripteau pendant au dessoubz de l'escusson, auquel estoit l'ancienne deuise de la Ville. VN DIEV VN ROY VNE LOY. Et au costé droict peinct sur le mur Foy en Deesse assise sur nués, embrassant une Croix platte, & s'appuyant la teste sur l'un des bras d'icelle, tournant toutesfoys sa ueüe aux passantz : & auprès d'elle un rouleau uolletant parmy les nués escript de ce mot IN FIDE. Et de l'autre part Iustice pareillement acouldee sus des nués, non sans son espee, & balances, auec mesme tillet disant:

ET IVSTITA.



L'arc de Bourg-
neuf.





A LA SVSDICTE porte sa Mageſté rencontra quattre des plus anciens Conſeilliers de la Ville ueſtus de robes de ſatin, leſquelz luy preſenterent un grand poile tout de drap d'argēt dedās & dehors figuré de uelours noir auec les armoiries, & l'ordre dudict Seigneur faictz de riche broderie. Soubz lequel il ſe myt, & fut touſiours ainſi conduict iuſques à Portefroc, par leſdictz Conſeilliers ayantz la teſte nue.

Ainſi comme il commenca à marcher en ceſte pompe, il apperceut les rues de la Ville, par ou ſa Mageſté paſſoit, toutes tendues de tapiſſerie de haulte liſſe (comme Ville, qui en eſt autant bien meublee) laquelle pendoit des feneſtres en bas, & ſe renfoncoit dens les boutiques ſemblablement tappiſſees, & remplies deſchauffaux, barrieres, & appuiz tappiſſez dedans & dehors iuſques bien prés de terre, & ſi proprement, que l'on euſt dict, que ladicte tapiſſerie fuſt collée, tant induſtrieuſement elle ioignoit le long des uouſtes, arcades, & pilliers des boutiques. Ce qui auoit eſté ainſi ordōné pour uuyder les rues de la grand foule de peuple, qui y eſtoit & affin que chaſcun peuſt ueoir commodément. Les feneſtres garnies auſsi de beaux tappis de Turquie: & en maintz lieux (meſmement d'aucunes Banques, & riches maiſons, tappiſſé de uelours blanc noir & uert: en autres le deſſus d'une liſte de drap d'or, & le deſſouz de tappiz uelours extremement grandz. Les rues ſur le hault des feneſtres toutes couuertes de toilles blāches, noires, & uertes, & tout le long de la Ville

iusques à l'Esglise Cathedrale auec force escussons des armes du Roy, & de la Royne, & festons de triumphe enuironnez de liens des susdictes couleurs pẽdantz en l'air espaissement, qui resiouissoit grãdement le peuple regardant par fenestres, boutiques, loges, & parquez dressez en plusieurs carrefours sumptueusement tappissez, & tant chargez, & pleins de Dames, Damoiselles, Bourgeoises, & belles ieunes filles, qu'il sembloit que toute la contree fust là assemblee.

Ainsi auec le plaisir, que le Roy pouoit prendre à ueoir & son peuple resiouy de sa uenue, & en l'aspect de tant belles figures uiues, & bien en ordre, il paruint iusques au Griffon, ou se monstroit dressé un Trophee de France de cinquante troys piedz de montee, & lequel estoit d'une colonne de quinze piedz peincte de Porphire toute cannellee d'or, la Base & Chapiteau de marbre blanc enrichiz de feuillages dorez, auec son Pedestal, & Soubase. Au dessus de la Colõne une statue, un peu plus grande, que le naturel pour se presenter telle à ceulx, qui la regardoient d'embas, & coronnee à fleurs de Lys d'or, le manteau, & tout autre Atour Royal de bleu semé de fleurs de Lys d'or, fourré d'Hermines, represen tant France tenant en l'air une grand coronne Imperiale au dessus d'une H d'or, qui au deuant de soy estoit en grãdeur esleuee. Et au col de ladicte Colonne pendoient despouilles de toutes sortes d'armes antiques de diuerses couleurs, argentees, & dorees, auec gros faix de hastes, pilles, & autres ba stons longs Romains liez & attachez ensemble. Au pedestal estoit graué SVO REGI FOELICISS. FOELICIS. GALLIA. Aux deux costez duquel autres deux grandz statues seoient sur la Soubase: l'une, un Viellart tout courbe, les cheueux gris espars sus les espaules,

la

la barbe chanue pēdāt sur la poytrine iusques à la ceincture, sans auoir obmis ses deux grandz æsles au dos, & en la main droicte une Clepsydre, qui est un horologe à sable, & de l'autre bras s'appuyant sur une grād faulx figurant le Tēps. L'aultre la Fame auec sa trompette d'or en la main, deux æsles au dos. Au dessouz du Temps un tableau, auquel estoit,

Hiic ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono.

A celluy de la fame

Vnum quem video fama super æthera notum.

Et en la Soubase

Semper honore meo semper celebrare donis.

Aux deux flans du Trophee on auoit erigé deux Arules en forme de pedestal presque tout quarré : sur lesquelles se presentoient deux ieunes Dames de la Ville aornees en Deesses, & autāt richemēt parees, s'il en fut onques. Acoustrees la teste de leur cheueleure auec entrelassures & garnitures à gros Dyamātz, Rubys, Esmeraudes, Bagues & Ioyaux, & grosses pierres de Perles pendantes aux aureilles : autour du col la gorge couuerte d'inestimable richesse. Leur acoustremēt de diuerse facon de Nymphes, de satin cramoisy assoucié d'autres couleurs, porfilez de passemētz, & bisettes d'or : les bottines d'une suytte. L'une figuroit Vertu, tenant en la main une Palme uerte à fueilles dorees & entrelassees: & de l'autre une Nasse à prendre poissons faicte de fillez & rhetz de soye & fil d'argēt & d'or: dedās laquelle estoiēt Chasteaux, Villes, Tours entremeslez de toutes sortes de corōnes Imperiales, Royales, & Ducales, auec leurs sceptres tant modernes, que antiques. L'autre estoit Immortalité non encor asses pleinement representee, & toutesfoys en ceste (telle quelle) sorte plus que autre excellemment dyaspree : auec deux æsles de

Paon, les canons & dos des plumes distinctement argentez & dorez pour accompaigner leur lustre azuré: la teste coronnee de laurier doré entrelassé, de ses cheueulx precieusement couuerz d'une infinie richesse de ioyaux: & estoit montee sur une montioye, amas, ou monceau d'armes, & liures entremeslez, comme uictorieuse. Et comme uoulant dire, que par armes, lettres, & monumentz on se faict immortel en terre, elle s'appuyoit de la main senestre sur un petit monument en forme de pedestal longuet auquel estoit graué. SOLA VIRTVS IMMORTALITATE DIGNA. Au bras droict deux coronnes, de laurier, & de Chesne, & en la main une d'or à poinctes. Et au front de leurs arules illustré de testes de Lions d'or, festons, & compartimentz estoit escript sur la substance de leur dicton, en l'un, & celluy de immortalité

Aurea iam properat lustris labentibus ætas. En l'autre, qui estoit soubz uertu.

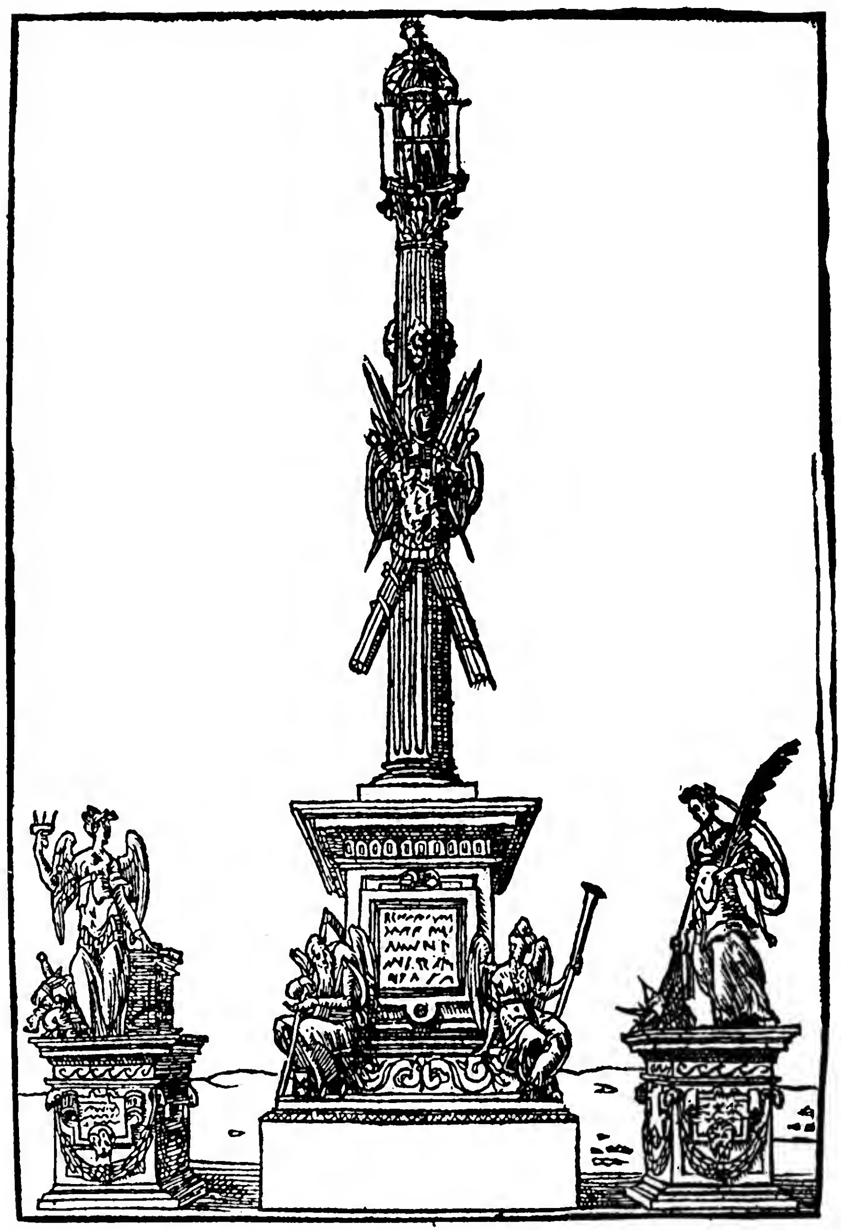
Fiant ut meritis regna minora tuis. Et selõ l'ordre d'iceulx immortalité parlant la premiere d'une honeste asseurãce cõmenca.

L'heur, qui t'attend, d'immortalité digne
Faict retourner soubz toy l'eage doré.
Parquoy la France icy t'ha honnoré
De ce Trophee à ta uertu condigne.

Vertu suyuit apres auec une grauité quelque peu honteusement modesté.

Le temps außi, lequel tout extermine,
Esgallera la Fame à tes merites,
Sceptres rendant & coronnes petites
A ta grandeur de Magesté benigne.

Le Trophee du Griffon.





A REVERENCE D'ELles gracieuſement finie, & leur grace aſſes louëe, paſſant oultre uint au Port. S. Pol, qu'a coſté gauche, & en la place du Port eſtoit dreſsé un double Arc triumphal de grande beauté: pource meſmement qu'il eſtoit tant en cannellures de pillaſtres, guileſchis de la friſe, qu'en autre fueillage, & enrichiſſement de l'architraue & cornice richemẽt dorés: & d'auãtage pource que leſdictz deux Arcz poſoient ſur une baſe en forme de berſeau antique repreſentant ſon uaſe, ou cueue de fontaine auec ſes gros goderons dorez, deux maſques eſtranges au rembourſement des coings, & une belle de femme entredeux dorees: de la gueule deſquelles pendoient deux feſtons de toutes ſortes de fueilles & fruictz moulez au naturel. Et ſoubz chaſcun Arc une figure de toute rondeur, moytie plus grande que le naturel, & toute de fin Stuc de marbre: & toutes deux couchees, & deſcouuertes tout le corps, & les iambes: le demourant autour du bas du uentre, & le hault des cuiſſes, couuert d'ung linge. L'une deſquelles figures, & la premiere en rencontre, eſtoit la Saone, laquelle tenoit ſa teſte appuyee dens la main gauche, comme ſi elle dormoit (pource qu'elle repreſente un fleuue, lent & doulx) & ſoubz le coulde de ladicte main un uaſe antique couché, & uerſant uin rouge en lieu d'eau. En la main droicte, qu'elle tenoit languide & pendante ſur le genoil droict à demy leué, des rouſeaulx de ioncz & cannes, demonſtrant qu'elle ha ſes riuages pleins d'herbe & mareſqueux: ſon linge bleu. En l'autre Arc eſtoit le Rhoſne ſemblablemẽt couché, & accouldé du bras droict ſur ſon uaſe gettant uin blanc. Et ſe monſtroit demy leue

auec

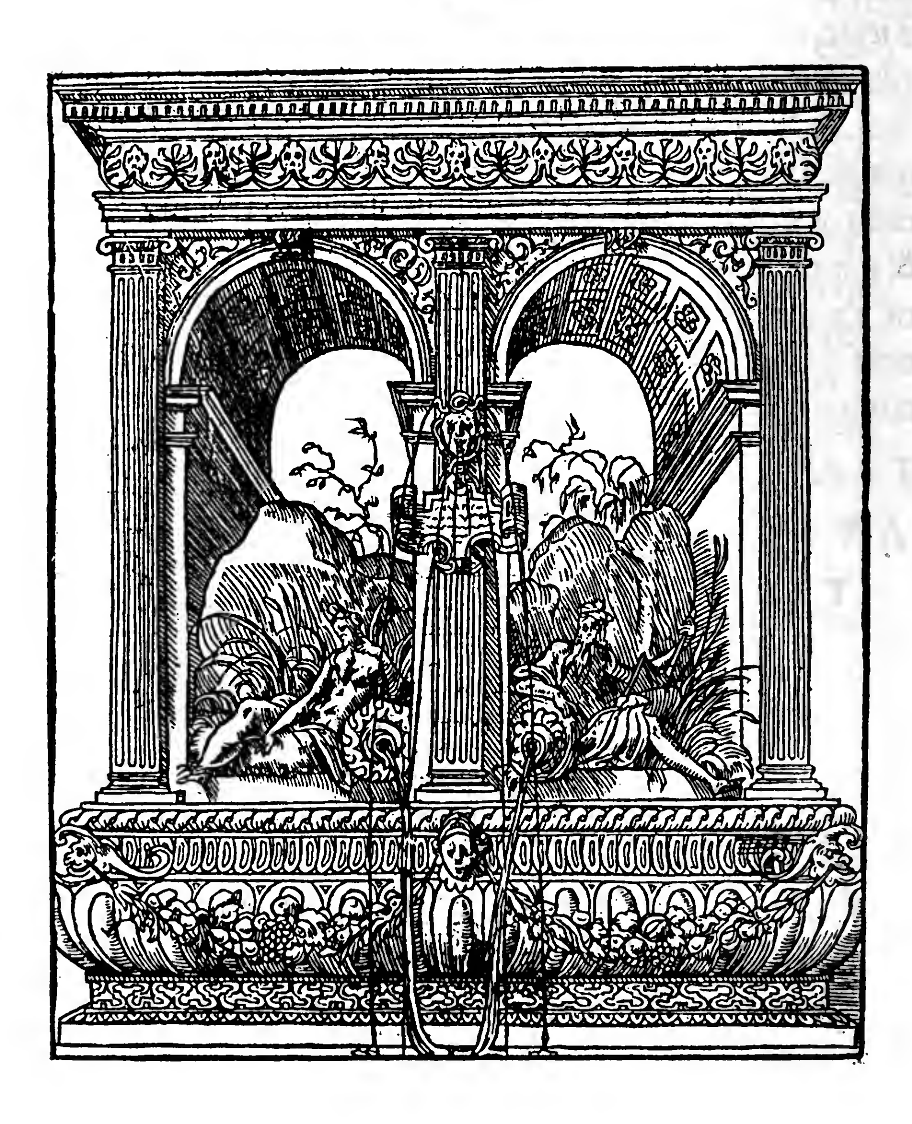
auec face terrible & furieuſe, ſelon ſa nature. Ses cheueulx & barbe grandz & mouillez : empoignant de la main gauche le manche d'un tymon doré antique, pour monſtrer qu'il eſt nauigable: ſon linge de pourpre. Derriere eulx eſtoient roches artificielles couuertes de mouſſe, & arbriſſeaux chargez de petiz oyſelletz par artifice induſtrieux imitant le chãt des oyſeaux naturelz. La uouſte au deſſus du roc perſee à iour, & toute enrichie de compartimentz differentz remplis de differentes fleurs, & roſes de boſſe dorees & argentees. Et au pillaſtre du mylieu eſtoit apposé une grand maſque de femme riant, ſa teſte enuirõnee de Serpentz gettãtz eau par la gueule, & elle par quatre partz d'entre ſes dentz, & ſi menuemẽt, que ceulx, qui cuidoient uenir boire du uin, ne s'apperceuoient qu'ilz eſtoient tous mouillez, qui ſeruoit d'une grand riſee. Et au deſſoubz d'icelle une table de compartiment riche, auquel ceſt eſcript ſe pouoit lire

TANTVM NATVRAE BENEFICIVM
ARARIS ET RHODANI FOELICITER CONFLVENTIVM PERPETVAM TIBI TVISQ.
SPONDET VBERTATEM.





Le double arc du port ſainct Pol.



CELA VEV, ET PASſant ſuyuit iuſques à ce, que le retour du Porcellet luy deſcouurit un autre grand Arc triumphal conſtruict pour Temple d'Honneur, & de Vertu (ſelon que antiquement ilz eſtoient mariez enſemble, pource que l'honneur ne ſe peult acquerir ſans uertu) & lequel eſtoit de ſoixante piedz de haulteur equipolente à la largeur de la place: ledict Arc eſtoit à deux faces, de chaſcune quatre Termes de relief, deux d'homme, deux de femme, entreſeparez: deſquelz le nud eſtoit de preſque de ſix piedz bronze & rehaulsé d'or moulu pour mieulx reſſembler ſon antique æraim de Chorinte, qui eſtoit allié d'or. Et au deſſus de leur chaſſe d'embas, qui eſtoit au deſſoubz du nombril, une teſte de maſque d'or, de laquelle ſortoient gros liens de mine d'acier, qui ſe uenoient noüer ſur les haches, les boutz pendantz. Et au deſſoubz de la dicte maſque une table d'attente doree, en laquelle eſtoit, quãt à l'hõme, HONORI PERPETVO. Et quant à celle de la femme. VIRTVTI AETERNAE. La teſte de l'homme coronnee de Cheſne, eſtoffee de diuerſe fleurs: Et celle de la femme de Laurier: & au deſſus ceſt eſcript eſtendoit la friſe d'un coſté & d'autre.

HONORIS VIRTVTISQ. PERPETVAE HENRICO PRINC. INVICTISS. SACRVM D D. Dedans le tabouret ſus la baſſe Cornice Honneur peinct armé à la Romaine, & aſsis en chaire, en ſa teſte une coronne ſolaire à rays &

poinctes, tendāt la dextre à une femme designant Foy:& de l'autre empoignant un enfant par le bras, qui estoit Amour, uoulant dire, que la Ville, qui luy auoit erigé ce Temple à l'hōneur de sa Mageste, luy portoit honneur, foy, & amour. Sur le frontispice estoient dressez sur troys asiettes troys simulacres: au mylieu Victoire, sa palme d'une main, de l'autre presentant une coronne de Laurier & Chesne. A l'un des costez la Fame preste à soufler dās sa trōpette. A l'autre Eternité se tournant à costé, & escriuant en un liure, quasi comme si elle figuroit, que nul ne peult ueoir Immortalité, que par l'escripture & l'œuure, & pource embesoignee à descrire les haultz faictz, qu'elle attend du Roy à son heureux aduenement. Au dos desquelles suyuoit une mōtee d'une tour quarree à la rustique & sur le hault d'icelle une grand Cornice, en la frise de laquelle, & du rencontre du Porcellet, estoit peinct le triumphe d'Honneur sur son chariot triumphant tiré par deux Elephantz, suyuy & enuironné de gentz de guerre auec leurs Tibies, Cors, & aultres instrumentz belliquaux, soldatz, & captifz menez apres luy. Et au dessoubz de l'architraue escript.

Terra tuos etiam mirabitur Inda triumphos.

De l'autre part du Change le triumphe de Vertu conduicte en chariot par deux Licornes, accompaignee de Nymphes sonnātz Lyres, Timboulx Timpanes, Cimbales, & Flustes à sept tuyaux pesle mesle auec d'autres portantz rameaux de Palme, Laurier, Oliuier, uases pleins de fruictz au dessus de tel escript.

En tibi quos nec habent alij virtutis honores.

Au plus hault du Temple une platte forme enuironnee d'ap

puys

puys à cloisons, comme hortz pensiles à l'antique, faictz de ballustres de marbre blanc à petitz filletz d'or. Et au mylieu de la platte forme un Dome rond sur la montee de troys rancz de degrez persé à iour, comme faict de six colonnes de huict piedz gentement dorees, enrichies, & couuertes d'un toict à cul de berseau, & audessus d'icelluy un grand croissant d'argent de trois piedz de centre. Le dedans du Dome lambrisé richement: & les colonnes reuestues par le mylieu d'autres diuerses despouilles d'ennemys: & par le hault de grosses masques, & testes de Lions d'or, d'argent, & de bronze pour attachement de festons à fruictages pendantz. Au long de la gallerie de la platte forme six Cornetz uestus à l'antique, sonnantz resonnamment & allegrement hault, festoyant la bienuenue de leur Prince & Seigneur, lequel passant soubz la uoste de l'arc autant belle, que tout l'edifice esgalloit en beauté d'architecture à tous les arcz, qui auiourd'huy nous restent de tant excellentz monumentz, & reliques de la gloire des Romains, peust ueoir aux parois d'icelluy Honneur peinct en habit recongnoissable à celluy de dessus, lequel combatant tenoit son espee sanglâte du sang de ses ennemys uaincus & fuyantz: & en monstrant aulcuns des siens mortz autour de soy, sembloit parler au reste de ses soldatz, & dire ce, qui estoit escript au dessus de luy.

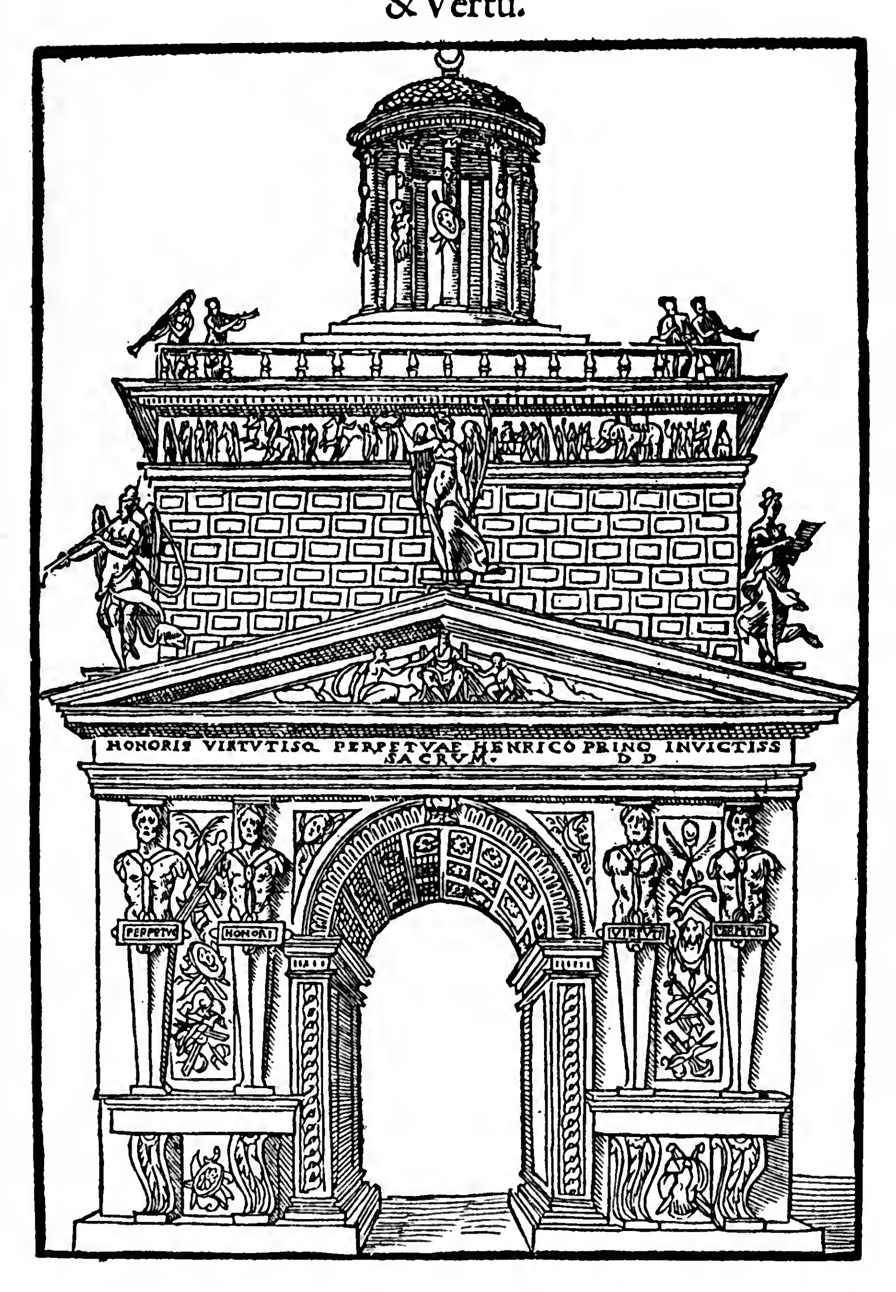
PRO ARIS ET FOCIS SVB PRINCIPE GLORIOSE OCCVMBERE PRO PATRIA VIVERE EST. Et de l'autre semblablement peinct un homme & une femme nudz & bataillantz. La femme tenant une espee nue, signifiant Raison, qui

tranche de tous costez : & l'homme un arc bandé, la flesche dessus prest à delascher, demonstrant le Sens, qui par son astuce & penetrante prouidence tire & frappe de loing. A leurs piedz une grād strage de Centaures tāt moytie Thaureaux, que moytie Cheuaulx, pour signifiance de force & uiolence, entremeslez de Satyres, & Monstres auecques eulx occis, pour gentz rustiques & ignorantz, en denotation que le sens & la raison surmontent toute uiolence & oultrage, ignorance & bestialité : aussi uoyoit on escript au dessus

NON VI SED VIRTVTE.



L'arc triumphal du Temple d'Honneur & Vertu.



PASSANT OVLTRE LA rue de Flãdres sa Mageſté entra au Chãge, ou eſtoit une perſpectiue d'une place de Ville refigurant Troye: ioignant laquelle s'eſleuoient deux plattes formes, ſur l'une un Dieu antique, ſa corõne à poinctes, & un tridét en main, un roc deuant ſoy. De l'autre une bien belle ieune fille, l'armet en teſte riche & reluiſant de pierrerie: ſa robe trouſſee, deſcouurant ſes bottines & le tout couuert d'une merueilleuſe richeſſe: en la main une lance, s'appuyant de l'autre ſur un pauoys, auquel eſtoit la teſte de Meduſe, deſignãt tous deux la cõtentiõ, que Neptune & Pallas eurẽt ſur la Cité de Troye, lequel des deux creeroit choſe plus utile à l'homme. Sa Mageſté là arreſtee, Neptune frappa de ſon trident ſur le roc, & ſoubdain ſortit un cheual iuſques à demy de terre mouuãt piedz, teſte, oreilles, & yeulx, tout ainſi que s'il fuſt uif. Et ſur ce Neptune dict ainſi, parlant à Pallas.

De mon trident ce Cheual ie procree
Non tant pour eſtre à l'homme familier,
Que pour ſeruir ceſt heureux Cheualier,
Qui tout ce Siecle à ſon venir recree

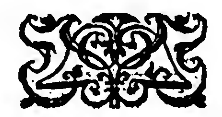
A la fin de ce dicton Pallas luy reſpondit d'un gracieux & pudique maintien.

De ceſte lance, ou toute force encree
De Mars iadis confondoit les alarmes,
De ſes hayneux humiliant les armes,
Luy rendra paix, qui tant au Monde aggree.

Son dire finy, elle planta ſa lance en terre, & tout auſsi toſt commenca à fleurir, & fut cõuertie en Oliuier: uoulant donner à entẽdre que la force & puiſſance de ſa Mageſté ſera telle craincte à ſes ennemys, que leur malueillance ſe conuertira en paix.

La

La Perſpectiue du Change.



ALORS



LORS LE ROY, apres le plaisir receu aux fainctes de ceste plaisante representatiõ, tourna à gauche suyuãt son chemin uers la grand rue sainct Iean: au mylieu de laquelle il s'arresta quelque peu à contempler le simulacre d'Occasion erigé en la place du grand palaïs, & lequel estoit d'une statue de femme, & toute ronde de huict piedz de haulteur, taillee de main d'excellent ouurier (s'il en est aulcun) mõtee sus un uase antique ayant aux deux costez deux gros Dragons fantastiques dorez, & au mylieu une masque auec pentes & festons à fruictz. Et lequel uase seruoit de pedestal à une haulte Colonne plantee au mylieu d'icelluy, toute semee de H d'or coronees, chiffres, fleurs de Lys, & deuises du Roy, les Arcz entrelassez seruantz d'une damasquine bien subtilement controuee. Et au dessus du Chapiteau une grand double fleur de Lys d'or, & la statue en ceste forme: toute nue auec un touppet de cheueulx sur le sommet du front, & quelque partie pendant sur les temples. audroict des oreilles: le derriere de la teste tout ré & tousé: se soubstenant seulement sur la iambe & pied gauche, & le droict en arriere ne touchant terre que de la poincte du gros arteil: le bras gauche lyé & attaché d'une grosse chayne d'or au dessus de la stragale de la Colonne: sa roüe soubz ses piedz: un crespe de soye, qui luy passoit entre le hault des cuisses, montant sur le bras droict, de la main duquel elle presentoit auec face mignarde & soubriante un Globe terrestre geographiquemẽt pourtraict en sa dimention. Tout lequel simulacre estoit enuironné par le derriere d'un demy rond

rond de theatre à quatre grandz Termes de Satyres masles & femelles fournissantz le lieu de pillastres du mur: tous de relief, & estoffez d'incarnation, illustrez de diuerses pentes de chaynes a fueilles & fleurs autour du col en bas painctes & dorees: les spondilles des bras couuertes, ou biē finissantz en fueilles & roses a plaisir: les iambes entrefichees dans un grand consolator de pedestal, en chasse de Terme, tellement que les cuisses forgettoient hors à force fruictages entre deux: puys se perdant les ioinctures des iambes dedans ladicte chasse en mode de cōpartiment, les piedz & bas des iambes ressortoiēt hors sur la mousture du pied dudict pedestal: Au chef grosse cornes de Bouc & Mouton dorees, & argentees: soubstenantz sur leurs testes chascun un panier plein de feuilles, fleurs, & fruictz au dessus de l'architraue & cornice magnifiquemēt dorez: la frise embellie de testes de Cerfz cornus, & Biches, toutes de relief & rondes accōpaignantz troys rondz: dans le premier desquelz Opis estoit coronnee de tours rondes, & assise, tenat une montaigne chargee d'arbres, comme Mere de toute la terre, & autour d'elle escript. *Hanc tibi iurarunt Superi.* La seconde à l'autre bout Amphitrite, Deesse de la Mer, assise sur une Balaine, & en son giron une nef, & de la main dextre uersant eau auec un uase, ayant pareillement autour de son rond. *Quascunque per vndas.* A celluy du mylieu deux Deesses seantz sur un monde: l'une Prosperité tenant son cor d'abondance plein de fruictz: l'autre Felicité auec son esphere en la main, & escript. *Vltra Anni Solisq; vias.* Tout le reste peinct de diuerse & begerre grotesque, qui seroit trop long à racompter, & plus la substance. Aux deux frontz des deux pillastres en lieu de epytaphes, tableaux, escripteaux, rolleaux, & compartimentz par cy de-

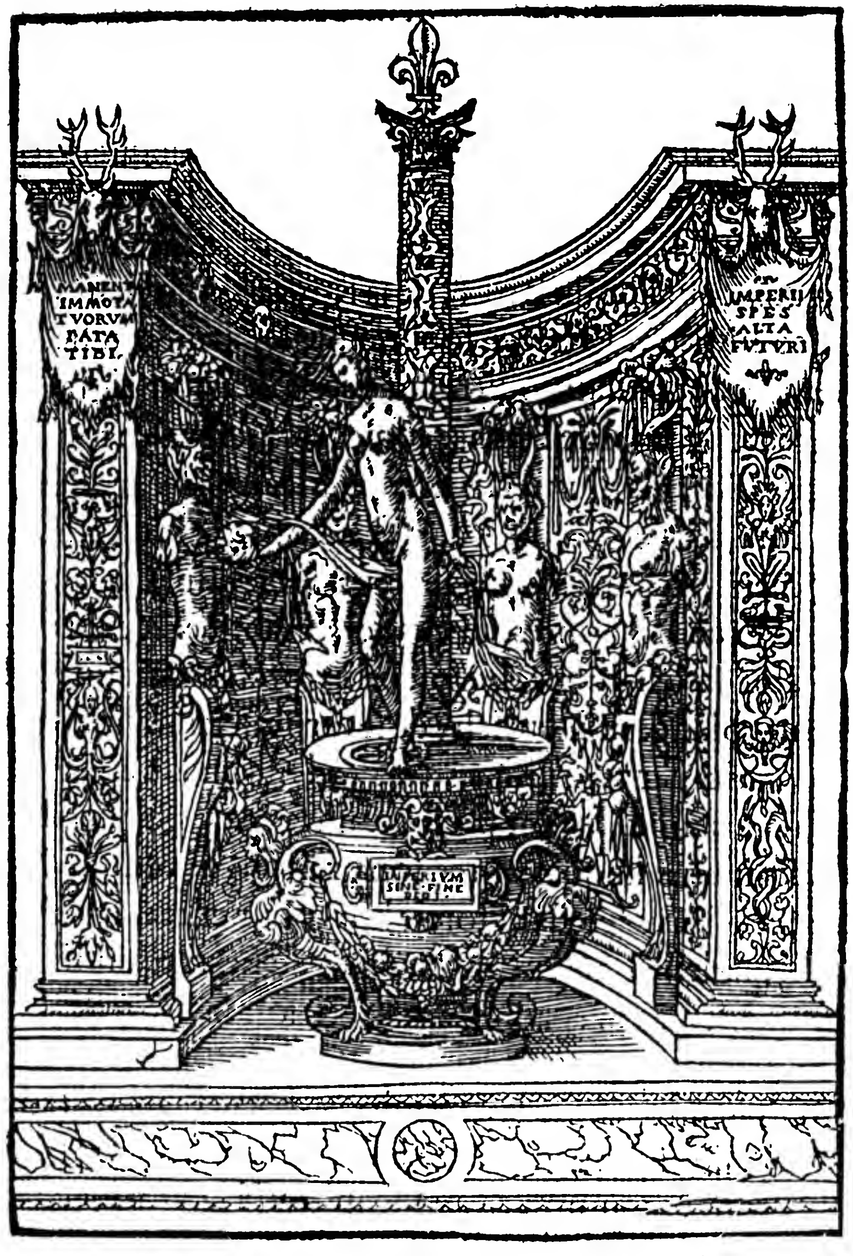
tant asses empruntez, comme triuiaux & communs, pendoient à deux testes de Cerf attachees en la frise en l'ordre des autres, leurs despouilles, c'est à dire, les testes auec toute la peau & piedz encor entiers: & au dos du dedans de ladicte despouille, seruant d'une peau de parchemin, estoit escript en l'une. *Manent immota tuorum fata tibi.* Et en l'autre. *Imperij spes alta futuri.* Tout lequel spectacle posoit sur une platte forme de deux piedz de haulteur pour resister aux iniures de l'indiscretion de plusieurs. Et tout le long de son front enrichy de compartiment estoit escript.

Imperium sine fine dedi.



Occasion du grand

Palais.





A MAGNIFICENCE duquel spectacle apres auoir quelque peu amusé les passantz, on uint à Portefroc, auquel estoit un plaquart de portal antique à quatre Colonnes enrichies de Moresques, & l'entredeux de grotesques, posantz sur deux plintes longuez. Sur la face duquel seoiet soubz une uouste troys Dames: Foy uestue de blãc, Religion en Nonnain, & habit noir: Esperance de uert, cõuenant leur habit aux couleurs du Roy & de la Royne: & au dessus de la cornice Iustice & Prudẽce soubtenãtz les armes dudict Seigneur: lequel passant oultre fut receu de Monseigneur le Reuerẽd. Cardinal de Ferrare cõme Arceuesque en son grãd habit de Cardinal, son Massier portant sa grosse masse d'argent doré, & la Croix au deuãt, & accõpaigné de Messieurs les Doien, Archidiacre, Presenteur, Secretain, Chamarier, Chãtre, Preuost, Contes, Cheualiers, Habituez, & autres en leur habit ecclesiastique, Lesquelz luy presenterẽt un poille de damas blãc & noir enrichy de ses armoiries, soubz lequel il fut cõduict par eulx iusques à la grãd Esglise, ou en luy donnant l'eau beniste, luy fut presenté un surpelys, lequel il tint entre ses mains iusques apres son oraison, & celle de Messieurs finie. Puys se leuant sortit hors pour entrer en l'Arceuesché, que ledict Seigneur Cardinal de Ferrare auoit faict sumptueusemẽt preparer pour y receuoir sa Mageste. En la place duquel logis il ueit erigée la grãd Colonne de Victoire de cinquante six piedz de hault, & de raualement troys, estant dressee sur un grand pedestal de uingt & cinq piedz, toute plaine & composee, son Chapiteau à la Dorique, designant une solide stabilité & permanence de pardurable memo

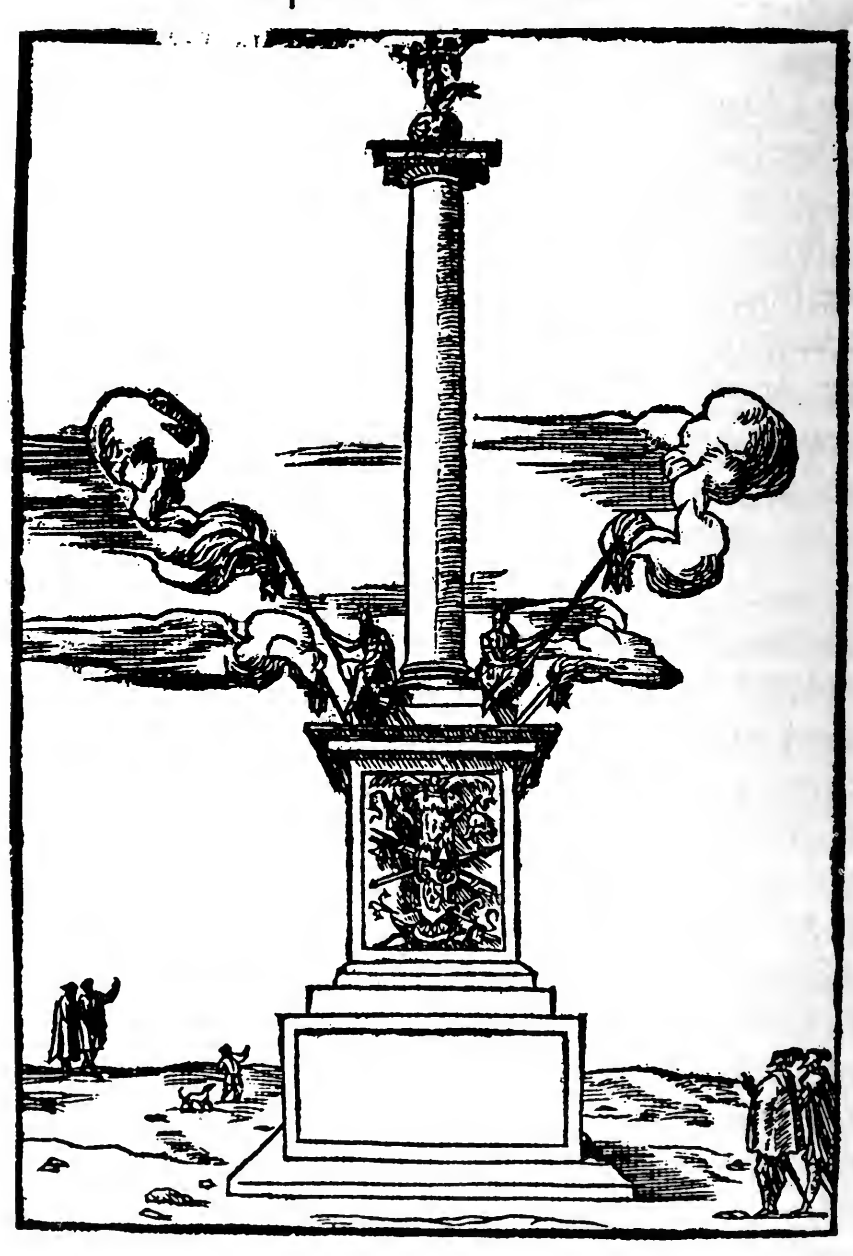
mo

moire. Sur son pedestal seoient les quatre Vertus Cardinales toutes de bosse ronde, & de haulteur plus qu'est le naturel beaucoup, & sur les quatre coings de la rondeur de la base toute doree à feuillagee, & tenant chascune une Hampe à fallotz pour esclerer la nuict. Ladicte Colonne soubstenoit sur son Chapiteau un Globe du Monde de huict piedz de circonference, toute la face de la Terre doree, le reste, qui est Mer, d'azur. Au dessus duquel Monde se contournoit une Victoire de six piedz & plus, les æsles estendues à tous uentz, sans l'esbranler, ny mouuoir de la constante promesse de sa liberale uoulunte: & en chasque main une coronne de Laurier. Au fond du pedestal estoit peinct de tous costez, comme en couleur de bronze clere, quantité de faiz, & liasses de diuerses despouilles d'ennemys: & en celluy de deuant escript dans le uentre d'un pauoys de forme ouale.

HENRICI FRANC. REGIS VICTORIAE AC VIRTVTIBVS INDELEBILITER.



La Colonne de Victoire en la place de l'Arceuesché.



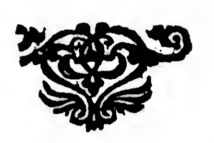
SVR LE PORTAL de son logis magnifique à la Romaine deux figures d'hôme & de femme s'entrébrassantz & se soubstenantz d'une des mains sur leurs uases uersantz, un grand Lion entre deux, monstroient au dessoubz d'eux une table escripte. OB ADVENTVM HENRICI OPT. PRINC. VOTIS ANTEA EXPETITVM RHODANVS ATQVE ARARIS GRATVLANTVR.

Deçà, & delà du portal chasque costé une figure contre le mur: l'une auec le bras gauche se couurât le chef de son manteau, & de la main droicte se serrant la bouche d'un doigt en perpetuel silence, & admiration de la Foy. L'autre portant une Esglise, pour soubstenement de l'union de la Chrestienté. Ainsi que sa Magesté entra leans, l'artillerie de la Rigaudiere tant petite, que grande, delascha auec grand & espouuantable bruict. Et fut receu magnifiquement en une grand salle tapissee de riche tappisserie à personnages toute d'or, d'argent, & de fine soye. Le planchier dessus bersé, & lambrisé de ses deuises, & couleurs, auec grandz escussons de France & de Monseigneur le Daulphin accompaignez de grandz arcz Turquois, trousses, & croissantz, le reste seme des chiffres, & le tout de relief autant richement estoffé, qu'il seroit posible, auec sept grandz Chandeliers pẽdantz à croissantz d'argent. Et pource que son logis auoit sur l'eau un tourrion en forme de bastillon, on en dressa un autre, pour l'accompaigner sus & le long de la Riuiere, tous deux rondz, & carnellez: & sur chasque carneau un croissant d'argent:

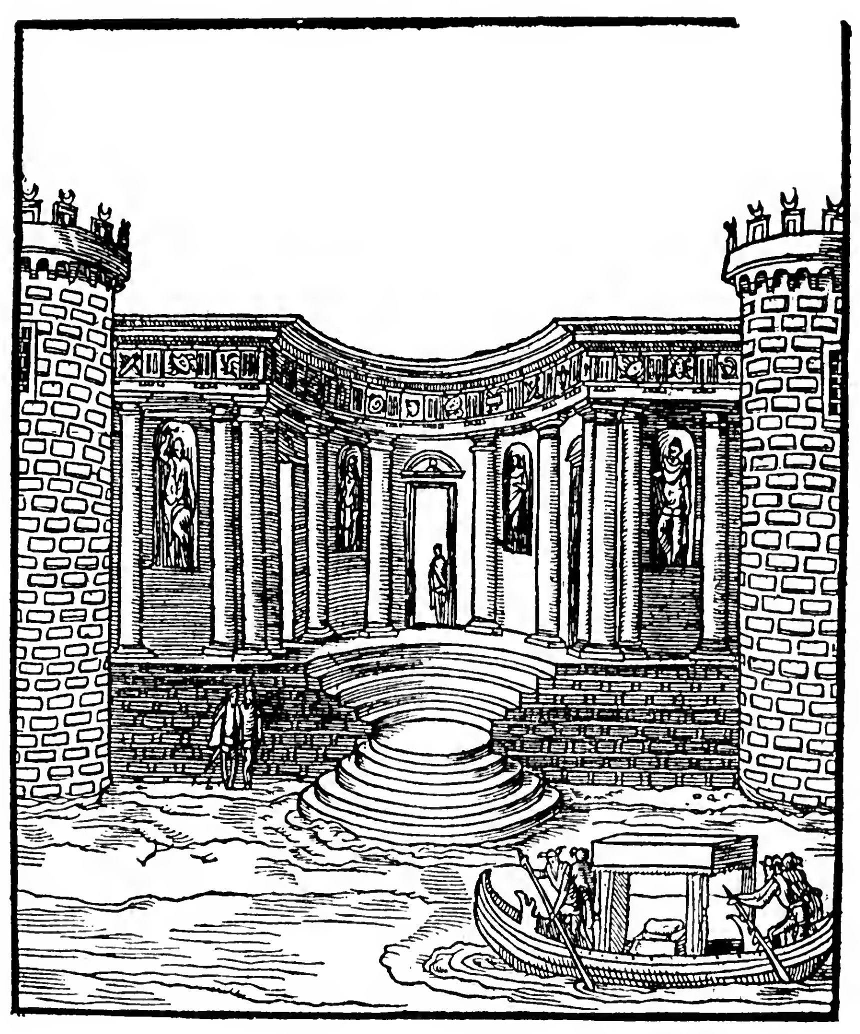
gent: l'entredeux desquelz fut clos d'une ceincture de muraille à deux recoings, ou petitz frontz ioignantz les deux tourrions: le reste du mylieu en un demy centre pour clorre une forme de Port ouuert de troys Portiques, & coronne tout le circuit du dessus d'une cornice auec la frise à triglisses & metouppes sur son architraue soubstenu à iour de douze Colonnes de dix piedz toutes rondes. Et au mur peinct en bronze quatre nidz, ou parquetz, en chascun un Dieu fluuial, & maritime, comme Portumnus tenant son tymon.

Dudict circuit l'on descendoit en la riuiere par seze degrez bas: les huict premiers suyuantz la ceincture du demy centre, deualantz sur une petite platte forme ronde reprenant son centre en autres huict ordres de degrez forgettez en rond iusques sur l'eau.





Le Port de l'Arceuefche.





E PORT AINSI MAgnifiquement acheué embrassoit en son clos plusieurs uaisseaux petitz & grãdz, preparez pour conduire sa Mageste à prendre la plaisance de la riuiere, sur laquelle se firent infiniz ioyeux esbatz, tant de Ioustes, Combatz, que d'autres passetemps de diuers instrumentz de Musique d'une incredible recreation. Et estoient lesdictz uaisseaux, en premier un Bucentaure d'un des plus grandz batteaux de toute la riuiere, lequel fut uniment couuert d'une asses ample platte forme seruant de plan à une salle de plus de treze pas de long, six de large, & de douze piedz de hault: deux portes à l'antique aux deux boutz: cornicee tout le tour du dessus de son dehors, & soubstenue par les coings, deuantz, & flans, de pillastres forgettãtz du mur enuirõ troys doigtz: grãdes fenestres à l'antique entredeux, & des deux costez, closes de chassiz de toille blanche ciree, & peincte de croissantz, & deuises. Au dessus de ladicte salle une autre platte forme ceincte d'un enuironnement d'appuys & cloisons à ballustres. Tout le dehors rougissoit de couleur haulte & uiue: les Chapiteaux des pillastres, portes, & fenestrages dorez auec autres enrichissementz de testes de Lions, & fleurs de Lys d'or. Ladicte salle dedãs mignonemẽt tapissee de damas blãc & noir, & par terre de tappis Turquois & le plãchier lãbrisé des susdictes deuises, le plus grãd paneau du mylieu fournissant d'une table quarree, qui se descẽdoit, quand on uouloit, à quatre grosses cordes de soye blãche & noire: & y pouoit on tenir la collatiõ toute preste, sans qu'on se apperceust que le plãchier fust autre, que tout entier. Le plã de laquelle salle s'eslargeoit en

une

une gallerie forgettãt sur l'eau, semblablemẽt close, & enuirõnee de telle cloison, que celle de dessus, peincte de rouge à ballustres dorez, en laquelle on se pouoit promener tout au tour deux à deux. Et sur le derriere du batteau une autre petite platte forme d'un degré plus haulte, ou s'essleuoit une pouppe de Nauire à troys pás, peincte & enrichie, cõme dessus, de sieges: tout le circuit du dedãs tappissé de damas blãc & noir, ouuert de deux fenestres à costé, en sorte que sa Magesté estãt assise au dos de ladicte proüe, pouoit ueoir baller ceulx qui estoient dans la salle, & ensemble ne perdre rien de la plaisance, esbat, & ioyeuseté de la Riuiere, fust d'un costé, ou d'autre. La poincte de la proüe d'une teste de geant doree serroit entre ses dentz une corde rouge, auec laquelle le Bucentaure se tiroit par un autre batteau plein de Mattelotz uestus de rouge. Le susdict uaisseau fut accompaigné de cinq autres: d'ung Brigantin à la moderne peinct de rouge & doré, la poupe couuerte de uelours cramoisy pourfilé & frangé d'argent: toute la Chiorme uestue de robes & capuchons longs de satin cramoisy: les raines, & tout l'altillage rouge: Et d'une Barque longue pour la Royne peincte de blanc & uert, couuerte par le mylieu d'un berseau auec ses pendãtz de uelours uert passemente & frangé d'argent: douze Mattelotz deuant, & deux derriere uestus de robes lõgues à capuchon hault bigarrees de satin des mesmes couleurs uert & blanc, uogantz à la Venitiane: une autre petite Gondole subtile & legiere pour sa Magesté peincte de noir & de croissantz & chiffres d'argent, au mylieu un pauillon quarré, comme d'un lict, auec ses custodes, & pentes de uelours noir à grandz passementz & franges d'argent: le dedans de tappis de Turquie: deux Mattelotz deuant, & un

derriere uestus de Iubes Turques de uelours noir passementees d'argent & soye noire, leurs bonnetz haultz, le rebras à quatre poinctes de uelours noir, & tout autour borde des susdictz passementz: à trauers le corps ceinctz d'une grosse ceincture Turque de taffetas blanc. Item une aultre plus grandette couuerte à berseau de uelours noir clos & passementé d'argent. Et d'auantaige une petite fuste tannee, la pouppe de uelours tanné frangé d'argent. Tous lesquelz uaisseaux se serroient dans le Port prestz pour obeïr au bon uouloir & plaisir de sa Magesté. Laquelle le lendemain uoulut ueoir l'entree de la Royne, comme elle auoit ueu la sienne estant descongneüe en une maison de la rue Sainct Iean.



L'ENTREE DE LA ROYNE.





E LENDEMAIN donques XXIIII. dudict Moys la Royne s'en uint sur sa Barque au logis du Mouton, ou elle disna ce pendant que toute la Ville se rangeoit en la prairie du Faulxbourg. Et la Messieurs les Geneuois luy uindrent faire semblable reuerence, que celle du iour precedant, uestus toutesfoys de robes de satin doubles de uelours noir: pourpointz, & hault de chausses de toille d'or incarnat, le bas descarlate, & scalpins de uelours cramoisy: leurs laquais de satin & uelours blãc neruez de uelours uert, un petit cordon blanc par le mylieu, la plume uerte: puys se retirerent. Apres la retraicte desquelz les Mestiers entrerent file à file au deuãt d'elle, & du mesme ordre & equipage, du iour passé fors que le uert pour sa couleur fut meslé tant en colletz, pourpointz, cornettes, & pennaches: les Imprimeurs portantz tous bonnet uert, la plume blanche, qui n'estoit point hors de grace, estantz eulx si grosse bande, & tous d'une liuree.

Les Seigneurs Luquois auec leurs meſmes Pages, hors mis que leurs mãteaux eſtoient frangez de uert: leurs gentz de pied au lieu de bandes noires prindrent deux bandes de uelours uert, colletz de meſme uelours, la plume uerte ſur bonnet blanc. Eulx ueſtus de robes de ſatin noir doublees de meſme ſatin.

Les Seigneurs Florentins auoient leurs Pages habillez à la meſme facon du iour deuant, & de toille d'argent, à manches de broderie, plumes, & aultres accouſtrementz uertz. Et eulx portoient robes de damas rouge cramoiſy, tout autour frãges & broderie d'argẽt: ſayes de uelours rouge cramoiſy figuré: leurs Laquais de ſatin blãc, collet de uelours uert, plumes blanches & uertes de plus gaye allegreſſe que le iour precedant.

Les Seigneurs Milanois de robes de uelours noir doublees de ſatin à manches couuertes de boutons & fers d'or, le ſaye de uelours: les Laquais du iour deuant, reſerué qu'ilz portoient plume blanche & uerte.

Les Seigneurs Allemans de caſaques de taffetas à gros grain bandees de paſſementz ueloutez: leurs Laquais pourpointz & chauſſes de ſatin blanc bandez de paſſementz blancz frizez bouffantz de taffetas uert.

Les Enfantz de la Ville auec le hocqueton du iour paſsé, un collet de uelours uert par deſſoubz à demy manches iuſques au coulde, & la falte de uelours, ou ſatin uert, recamez d'argent: le pourpoint de ſatin blanc brodé de gros cordons & bilettes d'or, le pennache blanc, rouge, & uert. Apres eulx Meſsieurs les Conſeilliers ueſtus de robes de damas noir.

Leſ

Lesquelz uuyderent leur ordre auec le Capitaine de la Ville marchantz deuant les Gentilz hommes & autres de la maison du Roy, & des Suisses de sa garde. Apres lesquelz la Royne uenoit dans une lictiere toute descouuerte auec Madame Marguerite sœur du Roy uestues d'une mesme pareure en coeffe tant chargees de pierrerie resplendissante, qu'elle sembloit plus proprement un autre Ciel estincellant, que Gemmes: leurs robes de riche drap d'or à figures de cannetilles, & drap d'argent frisé. La lictiere couuerte de mesme auec les Pages, & harnois des Mulletz. Apres la Royne de Nauarre auec Madame la Princesse dans une lictiere de uelours noir descouuerte par le mylieu, Monseigneur de Vendosme tenant propos à ladicte Royne. Puys Madame de sainct Pol, autres Princesses, & apres elles suyuamment toutes les damoiselles de la Royne uestues d'un mesme accoustrement de blanc, le cussion d'or en teste garny de riche pierrerie, accõpaignees chascune d'un Prince, grand Seigneur, & autres Gentilzhõmes de la maison du Roy, qu'estoit une des plus belles compaignies, que lon aye de long temps ueüe. Et en cest equipage la Royne uint iusques à Pierrencise, ou elle trouua Dyane chassant auec ses Nymphes diuersifiees d'accoustrement de uelours, satin, & taffetas uert: & le mesme Lion du iour deuant, fors qu'il se ouurit la poitrine monstrant les armes d'elle au mylieu de son cœur, & à l'heure Dyane luy dict en ceste sorte.

Vous faisant part, Princesse tresprudente,
De nostre chaste, & honnorable queste,
Vous presentons ceste amoureuse Beste,
Qui de son gré toute à uous se presente.

Et

Et luy ayant faict la reuerence la Royne passa oultre, non sans se delecter de la deuise du portal de Pierrencise, & Arc triumphal de Bourgneuf, à la porte duquel quatre de Messieurs les Conseilliers uestus de mesme damas de leurs compaignons luy presenterent un poille de drap d'argent figuré de uelours uert auec les armoiries d'elle en riche broderie, & lequel ilz luy porterent au dessus de sa lictiere, la teste descouuerte.

Au Griffon elle ueit les Vertus accompaignantz le Trophee de France, uestues & entremeslees d'accoustrementz uertz, Vertu commenca icy la premiere.

Si la uertu, Princesse uertueuse,
Vous ha rendu sur toutes fleurissante,
Encores plus de uostre fleur issante
Se uoit la France en uostre honneur heureuse.

La reuerence deüement faicte par elle, Immortalité suyuit.

Parquoy de uous estant toute amoureuse,
Se resiouit de uous ueoir iouissante
Du bien osté à Fortune puissante,
Pour mieulx uous rendre en terre glorieuse.

La Royne auoit prins grandissime plaisir tant à leur accoustrement, que à leur grace de bien dire, passa oultre sans pouoir bien bonnement contempler (& selon le desir de sa generosité) l'excellence des spectacles & theatres pour la nuict, qui auancoit d'auãtaige par l'umbrage des toilles tendues, en sorte qu'on fut constrainct allumer grand nombre de torches par les rues. Elle doncques ainsi conduicte iusques

au

au Change trouua aussi Neptune auec Pallas, lequel auant que rien dire feit sortir son Cheual, puys dict

Si ie uoulus le Roy tant estimer,
Que mon Cheual dès Troye luy donnay,
Ce mien Trident aussi uous destinay,
Pour auec moy dominer la grand Mer.

Luy ayant monstré son Trident doré, comme le luy presentant, Pallas poursuyuit, apres auoir premierement faict conuertir sa Lance en arbre de Paix.

La France alors commencceant á aymer,
Muay pour uous, Princesse sage & bonne,
La guerre en paix, comme le Ciel s'adonne
A uoz uertus haultement consommer.

Le plaisir receu de leur affectueuse demonstration, se destourna en la rue sainct Iean, ou elle ueit l'Occasion, qui luy presentoit sa moytie de la Monarchie du Monde preparee par elle au Roy, son heureux Prince & Consort. Delà suyuant son chemin en grand ioye & iubilation de tout le peuple grandement resiouy de sa uenue, arriua à Portefroc, ou Monseigneur le Cardinal de Ferrare, cõme Arceuesque, en l'ordre du iour precedãt, & auec Messieurs les, Doien, Chapitre, & Clergé de sainct Iean receurent sa Mageste auec un poille de damas blanc & uert, soubz lequel elle uint descendre à la grand Esglise, en laquelle, ayant prins l'eau beniste, fut receüe en l'Arceuesché auec un magnifique & sumptueux festin en la grand salle, ou le bal solennel dura long temps, après les tables leuees.

Le lendemain qui fut Mardy, Messieurs les Conseilliers de sa Ville uindrent faire la reuerence à sa Magesté, & luy presenterent leur present en un estuy de uelours noir à passementz de fil d'argent & de soye noire, le dedans doublé de satin cramoisy. Lequel estoit d'un Roy armé à l'antique assis en une chaire, de laquelle le deuant, d'ossier, & brassieres estoient de quatre croissantz gentement & à propos bien inuentez: & le bas des arcz ioinctz, & entretenus des chiffres de sa deuise: Au deuant deux Deesses presentant au mylieu d'elles un Lion, qui se humilioit. L'une estoit Foy, designee selon l'antiquité, tenant un pain en une main, & en l'autre un uase. L'autre Liberalité auec une tessere (qui est un dé en forme de pirouette) & soubz le pied droict le disque. Et tout sur une platte-forme quarree mignonement, & artistement ouuree de moulures & armoiries de la Ville. Aux deux mylieu des costez deux compartimentz, ou estoit, FIDEI LIBERALITATISQ. PVBLICAE D. Après auoir esté humainement receuz du Prince, & remerciez, uindrent faire leur debuoir enuers la Royne, à laquelle, après la reuerence, & harengue en recommandation de la Ville, luy presenterent son present dans un estuy couuert de uelours uert passementé d'argent, le dedás de satin cramoisy. Lequel estoit la Deesse Prosperité assise, tenant entre ses bras deux cors d'abondance pleins de fruictz. Sur le hault desquelz sortoit un Lys au mylieu, & lequel se ouuroit par la cyme, & en yssoient deux testes d'enfantz iusques aux espaulles. Et à ses piedz un aultre enfant grandet se ioüant à une boule ronde esmaillee de rouge, representant les pommes de ses armoiries, & toutesfoys ceincte à trauers d'un cercle d'or figurant le Zodiaque, pour demonstrer Monseigneur

gneur le Dauphin debuoir quelque iour s'emploier au gouuernement du monde. Lesquelles figures posoient sur une platte forme triangulaire aux armes de la Ville, & un tillet:

Semper honos nomenq; tuum laudesq; manebunt.

Le present receu à gré, & eux remerciez, le Roy & la Royne monterent apres disner dans leurs Gondoles, & s'allerent esbatre sur la riuiere, ou ilz prindrent grandissime plaisir à ueoir iouster ceulx de sainct Vincent, & sainct George, & se renuerser & culebuter l'un sur l'autre dans l'eau. Et delà s'ebatant uint ueoir les Galleres, que l'on preparoit pour la Naumachie. Lesquelles neantmoins l'accompagnerent iusques en Serain tirant uers l'Isle auec bruict de Tabourins, Fiffres, Trompettes, & Clerons resonnant sur ceste riuiere d'un merueilleux resonnement & plaisant à ouir parmy l'artillerie tant du Chasteau, que de celles des Galleres, esbat certes, qui accompaigna merueilleusement bien la beaulté de ce iour.

Le Mercredy fut festoié magnifiquement auec la Royne, & les Dames, Princes, & Cardinaulx par Monseigneur le Reuerendissime Cardinal de Ferrare en son Iardin de Rontalon, lequel il auoit faict magnifiquement accoustré, & par Peintres excellens faict peindre à frais dedans & dehors, ou les quatre Vertus Cardinales grandes au naturel accompagnoient un grand escusson de France. Et entre le Palais & le Iardin fut dressee une fueillee excellemment belle & bien enrichie de force festons, escussons, & candelabres, soubz laquelle se fit le festin: & tout le Iardin suyuant la magnificence d'un si grand appareil auec plaisantes perspectiues peinctes cõtre le mur au fons des allees. Auquel lieu uindrent les deux Capitaines des Enfantz de la Ville accompaignez de

leurs Lieutenantz, Enseignes, & grãd nombre de leurs compagnies, uestus de bonnet, casaquin, chausses, & scalpins de uelours noir, le pourpoint de satin blanc, la plume blanche. Et là presentez par Monseigneur de Guise firent la reuerence à sa Mageſté, qui les receut d'un bon uisage, comme Prince debonnaire. Après le bal du festin, le Roy & la Royne ensemble les autres Princes, Dames, & Cardinaulx, monterent sur le grãd Bucentaure, & furent ueoir le grand ieu de Paulme, qu'on auoit expressement basty à Esnay le long de la riuiere pour delecter sa Mageſté, si d'auanture il fust allé loger en l'Abbaye. Lequel fut trouué (cõme il est) autant spacieux, & d'autãt belle estoffe, que guieres que lon uoye, ayant deux grandz croissantz d'argent sur le front & my lieu des murailles des deux boutz: les galleries spacieusement amples à petites Colonnes tornoiees soubstenantz les baletz: auquel lieu il se exercita despuis quelques iours apres. Delà se promenerent sur l'eau dans le susdict Vaisseau accõpaigné des Brigantins, Gondoles, Fustes, & autres bateaux. Et quãt sa Mageſté uoulut prendre son uin, lon descendit la collation, qui estoit cachee dans le paneau du my lieu du lambris du planchier dudict uaisseau. Laquelle oultre l'inuention qui fut trouuee gentile, cõme elle estoit certainemẽt, fut d'une grãd magnificence de toutes sortes de confictures liquides & seches de Gennes, Espaigne, & Portugal, en diuerses sortes de belles formees enrichies descussons, & petites banderolles aux armes des Princes, Princesses, & Cardinaulx là presentz. Et tout acoup aussi la sommellerie sortit toute preste du fons de la carene du bateau, comme si les Dieux Celestes leur enuoyassent d'en hault la collatiõ, & ceulx des eaux les uoulussent abreuer de leur manoir aquatique, qui donna grand

plai

plaisir & cótentement à toute ceste grãde & noble cõpagnie. S'estant sa Mageſté retiree sur les cinq heures du soir, entra en la Salle de la Comedie, qui estoit d'un appareil sumptueusement riche, tant en petitz Anges uoletãtz, & nudz en l'air, & tenãtz cierges allumez, que aussi en tant d'autres figures à demy bosse grandes au naturel, chascune esleuee soubz l'entree d'une porte à l'antique, & sur la cornice de chasque porte deux petitz Enfantz de relief soubstenantz des festons à fruictz moulez. Et estoient lesdictes grandz figures douze en nõbre, six toguez à l'antique & corõnez de Laurier, represen tantz six Poëtes Florentins : les six autres armez à l'antique pour les six Ancestres de la maison de Medicis, qui furẽt premiers restaurateurs des lettres Grecques, & Latines, Architecture, Sculpture, Paincture, & tous autres bons artz par eulx resuscitez, & introduictz en l'Europe Chrestiente, desquelz là rudesse des Gotz l'en auoient long temps deuestue. La perspectiue de relief, & tout autour grãdz flambeaux de cire blanche soubstenus de maintes Harpies, & autres bestes estrãges toutes rondes pour esclerer tant d'autres enrichissementz, qu'il ne reluisoit leans que pur or fourby, ce sembloit. Les Histrions tant richement & diuersement uestus de satin & uelours cramoisy, drap d'or, & d'argẽt, broché d'or, auec la recreation de la diuersité de la Musique chãgeant selon les sept Eages interuenãtz aux intermedies des actes accompaignez de Apollo chãtant & recitant au son de sa lyre plusieurs belles rymes Thoscanes à la louange du Roy. Et sans oblier une nouuelle mode, & non encor usitee aux recitementz des Comedies, qui fut qu'elle cõmenca par l'aduenement de l'Aube, qui uint trauersant la place de la Perspectiue & chantant sur son Chariot trayné par deux coqz, &

finit aussi par la suruenue de la Nuict couuerte d'estoilles portant un croissant d'argent, & chātant dans son Chariot trainee par deux Cheueches en grādissime attētion & plaisance de tous spectateurs. Lequel esbat fut à sa Magesté d'une telle delectation, qu'il ne s'en uoulut contenter pour une seule foys.

Le lendemain Ieudy après disner sur les uespres il eut le passeteinps d'une Naumachie de Galleres suyuantz, quant à la forme, l'antiquité: Mais, quāt à la facon & enrichissement des proües & pouppes, faictes de nouuelle & folastre inuention, toutesfoys trouuee tresbelle, cōme sont cōmunement toutes autres nouueautez. Desquelles deux grādes estoient Capitanesses. L'une de blanc, noir, & rouge. Et pour proüe un col de beste haultesleué, & le deuāt ployāt en bas, & bien auant sur l'eau, le bout d'icelluy finissant en une grosse teste estrange à grosses cornes. Les pauesades antiques figurees de diuerse grotesque à plaisir, soubstenues d'un rang de cōsolators, les bortz dorez, & argentez: l'entredeux de roses, fleurs, & testes de Lions d'or, & d'argent entremeslees: le uentre de la pouppe armé de grādz lames de bastons antiques tous de fer, pour soubstenir l'abbord & rencontre: & le dessoubz, & autour enrichiz de diuers actes de Hercules à demy relief, & bien estoffez. La pouppe d'un berseau arrondy, cōme d'une treille d'argent & noir, deux grandz croissantz aux deux frontz du dessus: & dessoubz celluy deuant le col d'un autre animal, qui en tournoiant se forgettoit sur le dedans de la Gallere: au bout pendoit une petite lanterne doree, ladicte pouppe couuerte d'un aornement de taffetas blanc & noir fleuretté d'ouurage damasquin. Et auoit la susdicte Capitanesse deux autres petites Galleres de diuerses formes: l'une à

poup

pouppe d'un pauillon: l'autre suyuãt autrement: les proües de diuerses hures de bestes, toutes neãtmoins d'une couleur: la Chiorme reuestue de rouge à manteaux antiques. L'autre Capitanesse de blanc & uert mõstroit sa pouppe d'un demy berseau triangulaire reprenant sa moytie de poincte par le mylieu lambrisé dedans à fleurs, un pendant de taffetas à lambeaux & houppes sur le front de la reprise. Au bout de la poincte contournee en forme de Serpent pendoit la petite lanterne pour Fanal. En lieu de pauesade une drapperie, comme de damas uiolet, à lambeaux arrondiz & chargez de houppes pendantes. A laquelle estoient appliquees grosses masques begerres & estranges estoffees d'or, d'argent, bronze, & incarnation. La proüe d'une teste d'or de Chieure monstrueuse à grand col de grue, se ployant en dedans au rebours de l'autre. Au mylieu l'arbre, & cordes, sartes, rames, & tout autre artillage de blanc & uert: la demye Gabbie enuironnee de petitz pauois entreseparez à force traictz & dardz monstrantz le fer d'argent, & au dessus la bannerolle de taffetas blanc & uert, pour diuersifier à celle de l'autre Capitanesse, qui auoit sa Gabbie toute ronde, & la bannerolle blanche & noire, que i'auois obmis de dire. Les deux autres petites de sa suytte uarioient de forme, toutesfoys cõsonnante aux couleurs, auec leur Chiorme uerte. Ainsi equipees & armees, les proües, & flans des pouppes, & coursies, qui s'estendoient le long des deux costez des pauesades, furent remplies de Soldatz tous armez de mourrions dorez, pauois, rondelles, targues, cymeterres, coultellaz, rancons, partesanons, & autres diuerses armes à aste, grenades, lances, trõpes, & potz à feu. Et en tel armement despartirent du Port des Augustins, les noires premieres, leur Capitanesse

neffedquant, les autres suyuantz auec petites Fustes & Barques pour le secours de ceulx, qui pourroient estre renuersez en l'eau, les uertes leur estant a la queüe auec si grand bruict d'Artillerie, Harquebouses, Trompettes, Clerons, Haulxbois, Cornetz, Tabourins, & Fiffres tant de Galleres, que des autres uaisseaux, ou les Capitaines des Enfantz de la Ville, & des Mestiers estoient, chascun sur le sien accõpaigné des siens auec Hallebardes, Partesanes, & Hacquebutes, & autres armes cleremẽt reluisantes sur ceste riuiere, qui donnoient un effroy de guerre, & neantmoins une ioye & contentement incredible à ueoir. Les premiers donques s'en allerent surgir à Esnay, ou sa Mageste se exercitoit ce pendant à la Paulme, & les uertes se rangerent uers le Pont de Saone, tournãt le dos à leurs ennemys. Et tandis qu'il s'apprestoient de bien les receuoir, les Portz, fenestres, toictz des maisons, & clochiers des deux costez de l'eau se r'amplirent tout acoup de tant de gentz, & la riuiere fut tellement couuerte de toute partz d'une si grande infinité de bateaux, qu'on n'eust sceu ueoir que les riuages noircir d'une inestimable confusion. Sur ce sa Mageste uint sur son Bucentaure suiuy des Brigãtins, Fustes, & Gondoles, & autres uaisseaux pleins de Princes, Princesses, Dames, & Seigneurs, & se parquerent droict des Celestins pour estre iustement au mylieu de la trãquillité de l'eau. Et soubdain que son bateau fut arresté, ceulx d'embas firent signe de leur despart, deschargeant leur Artillerie. Les uertz alors tournerent proüe tout acoup, & se rangerent les Capitanesses au mylieu, les deux moiennes sur les æsles en forme de croissant suiuyes sur la queüe de leurs Barquotz & Fustes. Et cõme ilz se ueirent près les uns des autres, les Trompettes cõmencerent à sonner l'alarme,

&

& soubdain les Galleres uindrent à toute extreme force de raimes à se inuestir l'une l'autre : grandes contre grandes, petites contre petites, & tout d'un front : ou à cest assault fut faict un tel chamallis d'armes tranchantes, que lon eust iuré asseurément qu'ilz cõbatoient mortellement & à oultrance, qui ne fut sans esbahissement & peur à plusieurs regardantz. Apres ce premier & furieux assault, les plus foibles se desharperent, & reprint chascun sa uolte iusques au second assault. Lequel cõmenceant à sonner, les moiennes des deux partz furent assaillir les grandes par proüe & pouppe, lesquelles se defendirent uaillamment, en sorte que les petites, uoyant qu'elles perdoient temps, se retirerent tant d'une part, que d'autre. Au troysiesme abort les petites uindrent de front pour se afferrer l'une l'autre, leurs Capitanesses à la queüe pour les secourir. Et à ceste rencontre commencerent à tirer des deux partz grenades, & potz à feu brusIantz & courantz à trauers l'eau, & à lancer trompes à feu si dextrement, que nul n'en fut offencé, combien que à ceste charge la martellerie fust si aspre & si grande, que les deux noires mirent à fons une des uertes. Et alors bouterent feu à l'artillerie : trompettes, & tabourins à sonner auec les harquebouses des autres bateaux des Enfantz & Mestiers de la Ville, & d'une si grande hucrie, tumulte, & bruict de ioye & de Victoire, qu'on ne se pouoit ouir l'un l'autre.

L

La Gallere blanche noire & rouge.

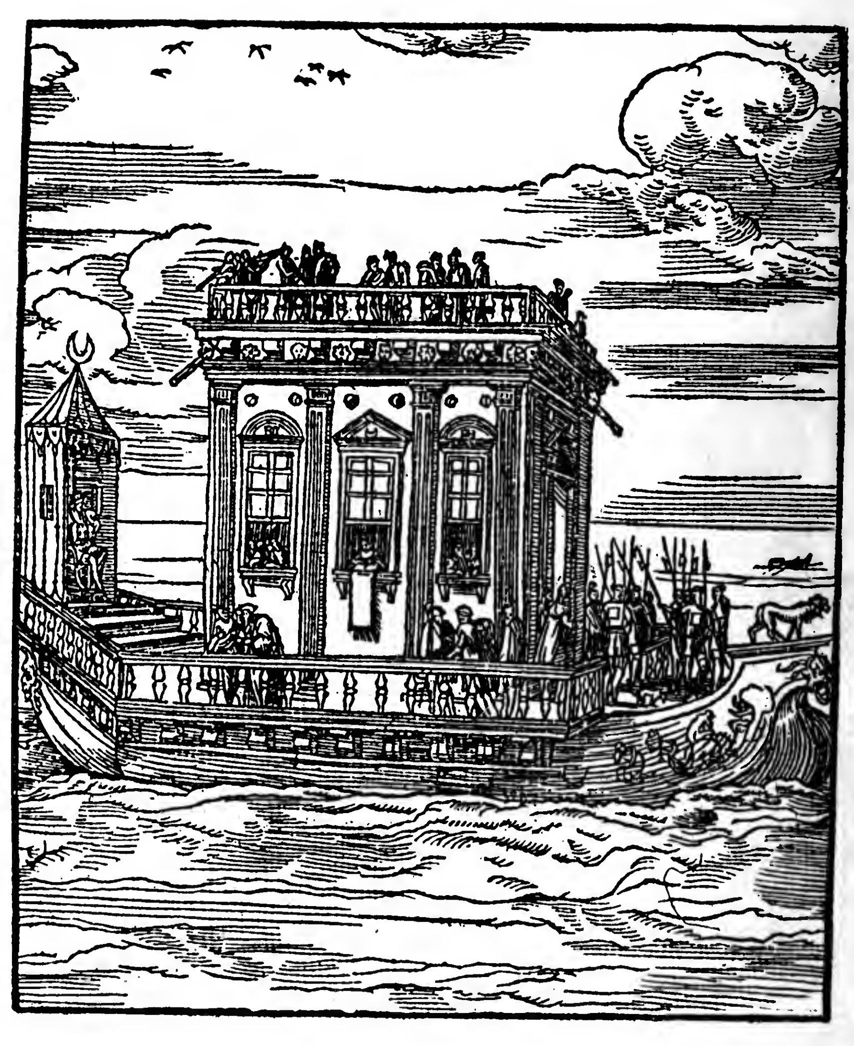


La

La Gallere blan-
che & verte.



Le Bucentaure.



SA Magesté alors, uoyant que la nuict descendoit, feit monter son bateau iusques à l'Obseruance: lequel fut accõpaigné tant de toutes les Galleres, Brigantins, Fustes, bateaux des Capitaines, Enfantz de Ville, gentz de Mestier, que de tout ce grãd nombre de tous ceulx estãtz sur la riuiere presentz à l'esbatemẽt: lesquelz estoient certes en si grande quãtité, que les poissons se pouoient dire couuertz, cõme soubz l'umbrage d'une crouste de glace contenant uniment tout le dessus de la riuiere. Mais ce fut auec un plaisir incredible & inestimable, mesmes à qui le ueoit. Et en ceste fanfare d'allegresse sa Magesté alla soupper au dict Couuent de l'Obseruãce, ou il fut attendu iusques sur les sept heures, qu'il monta en son Nauire auec grãd lumiere de torches. Et sur l'heure les deux grandz Galleres le receurent, son uaisseau tousiours uogant au mylieu d'elles. Et ainsi qu'ilz furent soubz le Chasteau de Pierrencise, estãt le tẽps calme, la nuict seraine, & neantmoins sans Lune, on ne se dõna garde que l'artillerie tant du Chasteau, que des Galleres, desparra auec si grand tonnerre, & retondissement de la riuiere, & des deux montaignes si uoisines, qu'il sembloit proprement qu'elles & la forteresse ruinassent sur eulx. Et les Galleres delascherent une infinité de fusees si dru & menu, que l'une n'attẽdoit l'autre. Lesquelles faisoient au mourir un son tel que d'une hacquebute: & lequel pour la reuerberation des roches se redoubloit de sorte, que deux ou troys fusees seulement faisoient autant de bruict, que dix ou douze harquebouses. Et auec une secõde charge chascun des deux grandz uaisseaux meit feu à leur moulin à feu, qui estoit d'une roüe tournoiant par uioience de feu artificiel auec une grãd flamme mettant d'elle mesme le feu à cent Fusees rangees tout

autour d'elle, lesquelles deslogerent tout acoup, les unes en hault, les autres à trauers l'eau, non sans une si grand tẽpeste de bruict, & d'une si grand lumiere, qu'il sembloit à chascun que toute la riuiere ardist, & tous les bateaux fussent en feu: ce qui feit belle peur à plusieurs, & mesme à telz, qui crioient, & se gettoient aux fons des bateaux auec grãdissime risee & plaisir des plus asseurez regardãtz. Ainsi en cest esbatement fut conduict iusques en son port. Descendu qu'il fut commenca le bal, duquel il se retira quasi aussi tost.

Le Vendredy iour suyuãt eut l'esbat des Gladiateurs, qu'il uoulut encores reuecoir, lesquelz luy en donnerent le passetẽps en la Salle du bal deuãt la Royne, qui ne les auoit aulcunement ueuz, à quoy il print grãd plaisir iusques à l'heure de uespres, lesquelles il uoulut solẽniser pour la ueille de sainct Michel, en laquelle il fut & celebra le Chapitre des Cheualiers de l'ordre, qui n'auoit de lon tẽps esté faict en Frãce. Par ainsi sa Mageſté fut ouir les uespres en l'ordre, qui s'ensuyt. Apres les Suisses & leurs Tabourin & Fiffre sonnãt les cent Gentilzhommes auec leurs haches, marchoit premierement le Huissier de l'ordre uestu d'une robe longue de satin blanc, & d'un chapperon à bourrellet, cõme les aduocatz de Paris, lequel estoit de satin cramoisy rouge, la cornette autour du col, & le chapperon estendu derriere, & attaché sur les espaules, portãt une grosse masse d'argent doré, le dessus faict auec les armoiries du Roy coronnees. Apres luy le Herault de l'ordre, le Greffier, & le Maistre des ceremonies tous d'un pareil acoustrement, chascun sa coquille d'or pendant au col, & tous au deuant de Monseigneur le Reuerẽdissime Cardinal de Guise, qui marchoit en ce rang cõme Chancellier de l'ordre, uestu par dessus son roquet d'un mãteau rond de

de uelours blanc attaché sur l'espaule droicte & rebrassé sur l'autre: son chapperon de uelours cramoisy rouge. Les Cheualiers de l'ordre uenoient suyuamment deux à deux selon leur rang & qualité auec chascun son manteau rond iusques à terre tout de drap d'argent attaché & rebrassé semblablement, cóme dessus, tout autour un rang de riche broderie de croissantz se ioignantz oppositement dessus & dessoubz à l'imitation d'une nué à force rays & flammes d'or entre lesdictz croissantz. Et au dessoubz un autre rang de l'ordre de semblable riche broderie: le chapperon de uelours cramoisy bordé pareillemēt de telle broderie de l'ordre. Et par dessus icelluy portoient le grand ordre: tout l'accoustrement de dessoubz de uelours, ou satin blanc, & en nōbre de dixhuict, Messeigneurs de Vendosme, & de Guise les derniers. Puys uenoit sa Mageste uestu de mesme les autres, excepté que son accoustremēt estoit enrichy d'auantage de merueilleusemēt grosses perles, & quelques frange d'or tout autour de son māteau. Messeigneurs les Cardinaulx de Bourbon, Vēdosme, Lorraine, & Ferrare reuestus de leurs roquetz & grandz chappes de Cardinal de camelot rouge. Tous lesquelz en ceste pōpe entrerent au chœur de la grād Esglise sainct Iean bien en ordre & richemēt tapissé: Sa Mageste en la place du Doien: les autres selon leur rang, laissant les places de leurs compaignons absens uuides. Et au dessus de chascune place estoient attachees les armoiries & noms des Princes absens, & des presentz seulement. Auprès du grād Autel fut dressé un parquet hault richemēt paré pour la Royne & les Dames.

Le soir sa Mageste uoulut encor ouir reciter la Comedie pour la seconde foys. Laquelle fut aussi de rechief reioüee le Lundy apres pour Messieurs du grand Conseil, & autres de

la

la Ville, qui n'auoient peu entrer aux premiers recitementz.

Le Samedy matin, iour sainct Michel, le Roy & les Cheualiers de l'ordre furent ouir la grād Messe en pareil ordre, que du soir: Mais auec si grād foule de peuple, qu'a peine pouoient ilz passer. Et la grand solennite fut à l'offerte obseruant les anciennes ceremonies belle à ueoir. Au sortir de là uindrent tous disner ensemble en la grand Salle du logis du Roy, la table de sa Mageſté au mylieu, cōtinuant les uespres dudict iour, uestus toutesfoys de grand robes de dueil, le chapperon à bourrelet, & tout le reste de leur uestement de drap noir. Le Roy semblablemēt, mais descarlatte uiolette, celebrant la memoire de leurs compaignons trepassez.

Le iour suyuant, qui fut Dymanche, furent aussi ouir la grād messe, cōme le iour precedant, & en habit du soir: ou au sortir sa Mageſté toucha les malades, puys disnerent encor ensemble. Apres soupper ueit brusler une nef à quatre chastelletz assaillie & tournoyee des grādz Galleres auec mille artifices de feu & Fusees, & ledict uaisseau chargé de canons de boys faisantz grād effroy ainsi qu'ilz delascherent, selon l'amorce, qui cōmenca par la Gabbie, & par une teste de Dragon seruāt de poincte de prouë, en grād spectacle de torches, lanternes, & chādelles le long du bort de la riuiere, uoulātz (ce sembloit) cōtendre de nombre à la multitude des estoilles (s'il eust faict cler) & resister à la pluye qu'il faisoit.

Le Iour d'aprês, qui fut le Lundy premier d'Octobre, sa Mageſté despartit pour s'en retourner à Fontaine belleau auec la Royne autant content & satisfaict du debuoir de la Ville, comme Prince uertueux & bening, s'il en fut oncques. Dieu luy doint prosperer en saine, longue, & heureuse uie.

AMEN.

PARTICOLARE DESCRITIONE DELLA COMEDIA FATTA RECITARE IN LIONE LA NATIONE FIORENTINA À RICHIESTA DI SUA MAESTÀ CHRISTIANISSIMA.

PARTICOLA-
RE DESCRITIO-
NE DELLA COME-
dia fatta recitare in Lione la Na-
tione Fiorentina à richiesta
di sua Maestà Chri-
stianissima.





EGVENDO DI DARui auuiso particulare della Comedia che qua à richiesta di sua Maestà Christianissima ha fatto recitare la Natione Fiorentina, vi dico cominciãdomi dallo apparato che il ricetto che era dinanzi alla gran Sala di San Gianni nella quale si recitò la detta Comedia haueua il Cielo di tela dipinta di colore azurro con alcuni nugoli, & à lintorno (da tre facciate però) vn fregio di sargia rossa di larghezza di braccia cinque o piu che si coniungeua col ditto Cielo, nel qual fregio erano da lato dextro della porta che entraua nella Sala cinque grãdi scudi di diuerse arme con larghi suolazzi d'orpello à lintorno di ciascuno, & altri tanti da lato sinistro con vna testa di Lione di mezzo rilieuo dorata in quel vano che restaua fra l'vno & l'altro suolazzo: ho detto da lato dextro & sinistro per cioche nella facciata posta dalla parte di Leuante, era la porta per la quale si entraua nella Sala: Da i dui lati della quale mouendo il detto

fregio andaua al cominciamento della facciata posta dalla parte di Ponente, à terminare: nella quale per esser tre gran finestre che dauano il lume al ricetto non cõtinoaua il fregio il quale era & dalla parte di sopra, & di sotto da vn festone di verzura fornito di orpello, terminato: erano i vani delle finestre dipinti à bozzi (si come anco era dipinto tutto il rimanente del reccetto da doue terminaua il fregio fino à terra.) Il vano della porta che entraua nella Sala era di altezza di braccia sei & dua terzi & largo tre & vn terzo: laquale poi haueua sopra due mensole o vna cornice, con fregio, architraue, & frontespizio à punta, talmente che l'altezza di tutta la porta era di braccia noue & dua terzi, laquale era si come anco le mensole, cornice, fregio, architraue, & frontespizio, tutta depinta del colore del Diaspro bianco con certi profili d'oro: sopra il frõtespizio stauano adiacere per lato dua putti di mezzo rilieuo tutti dorati: i quali tenẽdosi l'vna delle mani sotto il capo mostrauano sostenere con l'altra vna gran Luna in crescẽte ☾ che posata di rilieuo sopra la punta del frontespizio andaua con le corna à toccare quasi il Cielo, hauendo à lintorno il breue che sua Maestà porta nella detta sua impresa, cioè. DONEC TOTVM IMPLEAT ORBEM. Sotto le due mẽsole erano due figure di rilieuo fatte di terra & poi dorate di altezza di braccia tre & tre quarti l'vna posata ciascuna sopra vna basa alta vn braccio quella che staua da man dextra rappresentaua vn giouane, & quella ch'era da mano sinistra vna giouane & tenendo l'vno nella dextra mano l'arme di questa Città & l'altra nella sinistra vn piccolo giglio rosso fiorito accennauano quello con la sinistra & questa con la dextra uerso vn grande scudo di tre gigli d'oro, che pẽdeua dallo architraue: nella basa del giouane era scritto. FOELIX EGO QVE DVM

RE

REGEM ACCIPIO PATREM EXPERIOR. *Et in quella della giouane.* LILIA MAGNA PRECOR, NOSTRVM NE TENNITE PARVVM. *Haueua ciascuna di queste due figure à punto à rincontro di se nella facciata sotto le finestre vna figura di vna* Donna *pur di rilieuo fatta di terra, & dorata, della grandezza dalle altre che stando con le gambe distese à sedere per lato sopra vna basa teneua con l'vna delle mani vna corona den troui vna palma, & con l'altra vna torcia di cera bianca & nella basa di ciascuna di esse si leggeuano queste parole.* HENRICO INVICTISSIMO. D. D.

Entrando hora nella Sala haurete à sapere che alincõtro della porta era à punto per linea retta la Prospettiua *col foro, disegnata per mano di maestro* Nannoccio *che qua si troua gia sono piu anni al seruitio del* Cardinale *di* Tornon: *& figurata per* Firenze *cosi bene che per non dire delli altri minori edificij: la cupola: il campanile di santa* Reparata, *quello del Palazzo* Ducale *hareste detto che fussino stati veramente quiui.*

A guardia come dire della Prospettiua, *erano posti in pittura di statura Gigantea dalla banda dextra* Sansone, *& dalla sinistra* Hercole *lequali due figure veniuano à punto sopra due alie che faceua il palco, o scena che chiamare la debba le quali due alie erano di verso gli spettatori chiusi da certi balaustri tutti dorati sopra ciascuno, dequali stauano accese sei torcie di cera biãca (che di tal colore fu tutta la cera che si allumo alla* Comedia: *sotto ciascuna alia era (pure in* Prospettiua) *vna gran finestra ferrata alla quale si faceuano alcuni* Lioni: *& queste due finestre metteuano in mezzo quella scala pella quale pareua si douessi montare sopra della scena, & fu questa cosi ben condotta che molti furono quelli che credendola vera andaro-*

no la deliberati salir per quella sopra del palco. Haueua alla fine delle due alie della scena cominciamento il parato nel modo che appresso intenderete.

Erano intorno alla Sala (dico ancora nella facciata della porta) due gradi di altezza il primo di braccia vno & vno ottauo & il secōdo (compresa l'altezza del primo) braccia vno & dua terzi, sopra di questo secondo grado posauano per ciascuna delle due alie della Sala sopra vna basa alta vn braccio dieci colonne d'opera Corinthia & sei nella facciata della porta tutte maßicce dipinte del colore del Diaspro bianco co i capitelli dorati d'altezza (cōpresi i capitelli) di braccia cinque & sette ottaui l'vna: queste per ciascuna facciata delle due alie della Sala dauano forma (nel modo che di sotto dirò) à cinque archi, & tre nella facciata della porta de quali tre quello del mezzo seruiua per la porta à mano deztra della quale (per descriuerui hora particolarmente vno arco acciochè da questo poßiate intender poi tutti gl'altri) era vna colonna, & à canto à quella pur di dentro piu vicino alla porta vn pilastro dipinto del color del Diaspro, ma vario da quel delle colonne largo vn terzo di braccio & alto vn braccio & tre quarti, alla fine del quale era vna piccola cornice con fregio, & architraue, sopra del quale architraue mouendosi vn Arco andaua à posare sopra vn altro pilastro che era dall'altra banda à canto all'altra colonna della sinistra mano della porta: fra i canti del quale Arco, & la fine delle due colonne restaua alquanto di spatio nel quale era accōmodato vna figuretta di fantasia dipinta del colore del bronzo che staua cosi mezza a diacere: sopra i capitelli delle due colonne (che come ho detto) metteuano in mezzo la porta posaua vna gran cornice che veniua à esser giustamente, sopra l'Arco, la qual cornice era larga doue la posaua vn quarto di braccio, nella

nella qual larghezza era vn compartimento con alcune rose di mezzo rilieuo dorate. Sopra la detta cornice era vn fregio largo vn quarto di braccio di color nero tutto pieno delle imprese di sua Maestà cioe tre Lune in crescẽte & dua. D. legati in tal modo insieme che formano anco vna H. & sopra esso fregio veniua vno architraue che sportaua in fuora vn quarto di braccio con alcune mẽsole dipinte di biãco & nero con certi profili d'oro & fogliaini, fra l'vna & l'altra delli quali era vno spatio d'vn terzo di braccio nel quale era vna rosa di mezzo rilieuo dorata: sopra esso architraue posaua vn frontespizio adornato di pittura con le mensole & rose dorate nel modo che lo architraue, il quale architraue insieme con la cornice & fregio delle imprese di sua Maestà cõtinoaua tutto alintorno della Sala, si come anco faceua da basso l'ordine delle cornice delle base doue si posauano le colõne, ciascuno arco era largo braccia tre & mezzo & il vano che restaua fra quella colonna che finiua vn Arco & quella che daua principio à l'altro cioe fra l'vno & l'altro frontespizio era di braccia vno & mezzo. Da i frontespizij fino al Cielo (il quale era tutto di tela benissimo tirata dipinto di colore azurro con alcuni nugoli & grãdissima quãtità di stelle di varie grãdezze fatte di specchi con certi razzi di orpello) era tutto alintorno vn fregio di sargia rossa largo tre braccia, il quale partendosi come ho detto, da i frontespizij andaua con l'aiuto d'vn piccolo festone di verzura fornito d'orpello, col detto Cielo à terminare: sopra il mezzo di ciascuno frontespizio, de quali vno era fatto à punta, & l'altro à mezzo tondo, posaua vna gran maschera di Satyro fatta di rilieuo tutta dorata messa in mezzo da dua putti di mezzo rilieuo inargentati che stando adiacere per lato sopra del frontespizio mostrauano posandosi sopra l'vna delle mani tener con l'altra la

detta maschera, sopra la testa della quale era vn vaso di rilieuo inargẽtato del quale vsciuano certe fiamme che andauano fino al Cielo: Haueua questo vaso dua manichi à ciascuno de quali era con l'aiuto d'vn gruppo di taffettà azurro appicato vn grã festone di douitia fatto tutto di foglie & frutti grandi di piu sorte formati al naturale il quale passando sopra il dosso de i putti & incontrandosi con l'altro festone che in simil modo scendeua dal dosso del putto che era sopra il sequente frontespizio faceuano cadendo insieme vn pendente à punto fra l'vno frontespitio & l'altra: sopra delquale pendente era nel fregio vna gran maschera di Lione con alcuni larghi suolazzi d'orpello che andauano à trouare le teste de i putti: Era sotto à ciascuno de dodici archi cioe cinque (come ho detto) per ciascuna delle due alie della Sala & due nella facciata della porta posata sopra vna basa alta vn braccio vna figura di rilieuo di altezza di braccia quatro fatta tutta di terra & poi dorata & ricchissimamente ornata delle quali dodici figure sei erano armate & sei tutte pure secundo l'vso delli antichi, togate con bella, & varia attitudine ciascuna: lequali furono quasi tutte fatte, si come anco le quatro che erano nel ricetto, di mano di maestro Zanobi scultore fatto venire in diligẽza di Firenze per questo effetto solamente: dalla mano dextra della scena stauano li armati nella basa del primo de quali si leggeua. LAVRENTIVS MEDICES VRBINI DVX DOMI FORISQ. CLARISS. In quella del secondo. IOANNES MEDICES BELLI FVLMEN. In quella del terzo. PHILIPPVS SPANA SCOLARVS TVRCARVM TERROR. In quella del quarto. FARINATA VBERTVS VIR BELLI ARTIBVS ILLVSTRIS ERGA PATRIAM PIVS.

In

In quella del quinto. FEDERICVS FVLCVS APHRICANARVM CLASSIVM PROFLIGATOR. In quella del sesto. NANNES STROZZa DVX EXERCITVVM STRENVISSIMVS. Dalla sinistra erano i togati che teneuano ciascuno di essi (con diuerso modo però) vn libro nelle mani, i primi tre l'haueuano aperto & li altri serrato & erano i primi tre coronati di Lauro il quarto d'Oliuo il quinto el sesto non haueuano corona ma haueua il quinto sopra il suo libro scritto. PLATO. el sesto. IVRA CIVIL. ROMAN. Nella basa del primo era scritto. CLAVDIANVS. In quella del secũdo. DANTES. In quella del terzo. PETRARCHA. In quella del quarto. BOCATIVS. In quella del quinto. FICINVS. Et in quella del sesto. ACCVRSIVS. Haueua ciascuno di costoro (dico cosi li armati come li togati) sopra di se vno scudo delle sue armi appiccato fra là punta del frontespizio & l'architraue.

Nel vano di braccia vno & mezzo, che di sopra dißi restare fra quella colonna finiua vno Arco, & quella che daua principio all'altro, era vna figura di pittura di color bianco & nero con alcuni profili d'oro d'altezza di braccia dua & mezzo, quatro per ciascuna delle due alie della Sala & due nella facciata della porta (hò detto due per cio che nel vano de dua canti della detta facciata della porta) non si poteua se non male ageuolmente metter figure onde in Cambio di quelle vi erano due pietre del colore del Diaspro rosso che faceuano detti canti: le quatro figure che erano dal lato dextro erano di Donna & haueuano vna corona d'oro sopra la testa ciascuna: la prima delle quali haueua in mano vn Ancora: la seconda vna Barchetta sopra delle quale appariua il bifronte capo di Iano: la terza, vna

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coppa d'oro coperta: & la quarta le due chiaue Papale: la quinta figura che veniua nella facciata della porta rappresentaua vn huomo il quale teneua in mano vna verga & non haueua corona sopra della testa: nel fregio della prima era scritto. PISAE. In quello della secōda. VOLATERRAE. In quello della terza. CORTONA. In quello della quarta. BVRGVS SANCTI SEPVLCHRI. Et in quello dell'huomo. CASTROCARVM. Ciascuna di queste figure haueua sopra la cornice, fregio, & architraue che seguitaua l'ordine de pilastri, vno scudo di colore di pietra intagliato dentroui l'arme sua, si come anco haueuano quelle figure che erano dal lato sinistro, delle quali tre erano figure di Donna con la corona sopra la testa & due di huomini senza corona: la prima (i vestimēti della quale erano stracciati) haueua in mano vn bacino dentroui squadra mazuolo & vn paio di seste: la seconda vn gran corno di Douitia: la terza vn altro corno di Douitia ma alquāto minore: la quarta che era vna figura d'vn giouane teneua in mano vna coppa d'oro senza coperchio: la quinta che rappresentaua vn vecchio teneua in mano vn piccolo monticello: nel fregio della prima era scritto. FESVLAE. In quello della secōda. ARRETIVM. In quello della terza. PISTORIVM. In quello della figura del giouane. PRATVM. Et in quello del vecchio. POLITIANVM. Nella basa di ciascuna colōna era appiccato pella coda vn drago il quale hauendo le alie aperte che erano di varij colori simil adesso con alcuni specchi, si come anco haueua nel petto, teneua la testa leuata verso il Cielo & la bocca aperta gittando vna fiamma di fuoco fra laquale vsciua vna punta di ferro sopra laquale si posaua vna gran torcia, & questo era il primo ordine de i lumi: il secondo era nel fregio doue dissi essere le imprese de sua Maestà

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cioe vno à punto sopra il mezzo di ciascuno Arco, & l'altro in ciascuno vano che restaua infra l'vno & l'altro frontespizio diuisati in questo modo. Moueuasi dal detto fregio vna testa di Drago il quale mostrando mordere le codi di due piccole Serpi le veniua attorcigliate insieme à far leuare in alto talmente chi doue poi nella fine si appressauano con le teste posaua vna torcia di mezza grandezza: Nel Cielo si vedeuano sospesi venti amoretti con archi & strali & vna accesa facella nelle mani di ciascuno: scompartiti per tutta la Sala: i due gradi che erano, (come dißi) tutto alintorno della Sala erano coperti tutti di bellißimi tappeti di Leuãte & cosi tutte le altre pãche le quali erano posate in modo che fra quelle è i gradi restaua d'ogni intorno vno spatio di dua braccia, & nel mezzo, cioe dalla porta fino à doue erano (come dirò) posti i seggi per loro Maestà restaua vn altro spatio di tre braccia, & continoaua questo ordine di panche fino presto alla scena à braccia sedici: alla fine delle dette panche era vna piatta forma alta vn quarto di braccio, la quale era lunga per la larghezza della Sala, braccia dodici & larga quatro: sopra questa piatta forma se ne posaua vn altra che montaua ancora vn altro quarto di braccio, lunga pur per la larghezza della Sala braccia sei, & larga braccia dua & mezzo, coperta (si come anco era la prima) di finißimi arazzi: sopra di questa secõda piatta forma furono ordinati dua bellißimi seggi per loro Maestà & nella prima alcuni altri per li Principi & Principesse: Dalla detta piatta forma innãzi non era (come hò detto) seggio alcuno ma ricoperto tutto lo smalto di tappeti sopra de quali si posano poi la maggior parte quasi delle Dame & Damigelle della Corte.

Hora venute che furono loro Maestà, con tutto il rimanẽte della Corte nella Sala che fu se ben mi ricordo alli XXVII.

N

del mese di Settembre prossimamente passato, à vn hora di notte, & poste si à sedere sopra li due seggi gia per loro preparati, cadde subito à vn tratto la cortina che spressamente si era posta dinanzi alla scena, & quella caduta si comincio à vedere incontinente apparire l'Aurora sopra d'vn carro tirato da dua Galli.

Era questa vestita d'vna cotta di raso rosso tutta ricamata à fiori d'oro, & di sopra haueua vn colletto che pigliaua quatro dita sopto la cintura di tela d'oro & d'argento alla diuisa tutto tagliato, pe quai tagli vsciua tocca d'oro di pui colori: haueua le ali di diuersi colori coperte d'vn buratto d'oro che trasparriua, & i suoi calzari erano d'oro, il carro era tutto intagliato d'oro & fornito alintorno con certi sgomfi di taffettà rosso & bianco fasciato dalla sedia in giu (per coprire le quatro ruote) di tocca d'oro, Ella sedendo sopra del detto carro, & con vna mano pettinandosi con pettine di Auorio i suo i lunghi capei d'oro & con l'altra tenendo il taffettà bianco, & rosso, col quale erano legati i Galli cantaua questa canzona.

Io son Nuntia del Sol, che la prim'hora
Imperlo, & egli in dora:
Spenga il Cielo ogni stella,
Rend'al Mondo i color, che'l vespro inuola:
Ch'homai gelata, & sola
All'opre vsate appella
Ciascun la casta Aurora:
E'n vita à sospirar chi Amore adora.

Fu il suo canto accompagnato da due spinette & quatro flauti d'Alamagna.

Allo apparire de i Galli (i Galli erano fatti di cartoni coperti poi di penne naturali & si grandi, che in ciascuno di essi

staua

staua dentro vn putto) fu dentro della Prospettiua da due che si rispondeuano l'vno à l'altro per quatro, o sei volte contrafatta la voce loro, & in quel medesimo tempo dato il volo per diuersi luoghi della Prospettiua forse à tre dozzine di vcelletti.

Poi che l'Aurora fu passata venne in su la scena Apollo coronato di verde Lauro sopra lunghissima chioma d'oro, & vestito di raso rosso chermisi tanto à punto che sarebbe stato giudicato gnudo, di sopra haueua vn mantello di broccato d'oro su seta rossa che passandoli sotto il sinistro braccio era annodato su la dextra spalla con vn bel gruppo di tocca d'oro, al fianco portaua cinto vn turcasso tutto ricamato di seta & d'oro, & vno arco bellissimo alle spalle: i calzari haueua fino à mezza gamba tutti d'oro: questo tenendo la lyra nella sinistra, & l'archetto nella dextra era seguitato da quatro Donne dellequale vna gli staua à canto & l'altre tre alquanto lontane.

La prima che gl'era piu appresso haueua vna vesta di telletta d'argento coperta di velo tanè, talmēte che faceua vn colore di arme rugginosa se non che haueua bellissimo lustro: la qual roba era cinta sotto alla cintura tanto che faceua vno sgonfio & restaua alta si che mostraua tutta la gamba la quale era armata di vno gambale di ferro fino al collo del pie: ilquale veniua coperto da vn pie d'Aquila tanto ben fatto che pareua naturale, la sua vesta era scollata con maniche increspate tanto che mostraua la goletta & i bracciali di ferro in capo haueua vna bellissima celata con vna bocca di Lupa aperta & nella mano dextra vn Asta con vna falce in cima, & nel l'altra vn rastrello.

La seconda era vestita d'vna vesta d'oro coperta di velo tanè, tale che appariua del colore del Bronzo succinta quasi come la prima, talmente che mostraua le medesime arme lequale

però erano di colore simile al bronzo, in capo haueua vna celata con vna bocca di Lione, & in mano vn'asta.

La terza haueua vna vesta di teletta d'argento in terzo riccio tutta fornita di passamano d'argento con dua filari di perle cucite intorno al detto passamano con equale spatio: nello imbusto veniuano tre listre di detto passamano con dette perle & era detto imbusto tutto tagliato & de tagli vsciua tocca d'argento, haueua vna gorgiera tutta di velo d'argento che copriua tutto quello che mancaua à coprire dalla vesta che era scollata: i suoi capelli erano di fino argento con acconciatura tutta di tocca d'argento & passamano simile con perle con garbo bellissimo: i calzari haueua d'argento & in mano teneua vna coppia di pane.

La quarta che era quella che staua pui lontana di tutte le altre era vestita di teletta d'oro in terzo riccio fornita per tutto di passamano d'oro che da ciascuno lato haueua vn fornimento d'oro tirato & attorto, talche pareua vn cordone saluo che lustraua piu, il busto era compartito con tre passamani pure col fornimento d'oro tirato & tagli in quel mezzo pe quali vsciua tocca d'oro ricchissima veniua il detto imbusto accollato alla fine del quale era tocca d'oro in guisa di camicia, i capelli haueua tutti d'oro con vna acconciatura bellissima di catene d'oro, & fiocchi, & sgomfi di tocca d'oro, i suoi calzari erano tutti d'oro, & in mano portaua vn fauo di mele.

Giunte tutte quatro queste donne in su la scena & fatta vna gran reuerenza à sua Maestà, Apollo suauemente sonando canto le seguenti stanze.

Phebo son io, per cui s'alluma il giorno:
    Per cui splende la Luna, & l'alte stelle:
    Per cui sta il Mondo, & visi mostra adorno

D'ani

D'animai d'herbe,& d'altre forme belle:
Sceso hoggi sol dall'immortal soggiorno
Come cui cosa desiata appelle,
Per voi vedere altißimo mio Henrico
Al Cielo,à i fati,à ciascun buono amico.
Et per farui l'honor,che mai non soglio
Ad altri far,che cosa sia mortale:
Quant'oprat'hò gia mai mostrar vi voglio
Da poi che per l'Olimpo apersi l'ale
En vn momento innanzi à voi raccoglio
Quel che gran tempo à ripensar non vale,
Le tre passate eta con quella,ch'hora
(Ben che dispiaccia à voi)quà giu dimora.
Hor le mirate adunque,& questa prima
E l'vltima ond'io parlo,che si chiama
Ferrea crudel però che viue in cima
D'ogni bruttura,el vizio cole,& ama
Quel sol pregiando che'l suo troppo schiua
Si ch'altrui morte,& altrui danno brama
La quale io spero(& Phebo mai non erra)
Che per vostro valor degg'ir sotterra.
L'altra che prime fu dal Bronzo detta
Impia non era tal,ma i figli suoi
Hebbero in troppo honor forza,& vendetta,
In questa fur quei che chiamaste Heroi,
Iasone,Hercol,Theseo,con quella setta
Che Troia,& Thebe consumo tra voi:
Et di lodata vita al fin diuisi
Godono il bel seren de i campi Elisi.
L'argentea è questa in cui con meno affanno.

Et con miglior voler viuea la gente,
Solo hauea cura alle ſtagion dell'Anno
Di ben condurre al fin le ſue ſemente,
Ciaſcun viuea del ſuo ſenza far danno
Al buon vicin poi con tranquilla mente
Queſti morti alla fin ſpirti reſtaro
Diuini habitator dell'aër chiaro.

L'etade Aurata è quella oue nullo era
Dolor, tema, fatica, caldo, o gielo,
Sempre haueua ciaſcun la forza intera,
Ne ſi cangiauan mai voglie, ne pelo,
Speſſo vedea la ſua mortale ſchiera
Seco gli Dei ſotto terreſtre velo
Poſcia in dolce dormir venendo à morte
Ha in Ciel con Gioue la medeſima ſorte.

Hauendo coſi detto Apollo ſi ritorno dentro, & con lui inſieme le dette quatro Età & vſci fuora il Prologo, ilquale volgendo il ſuo parlare al Re, comincio dicendo, che ſe del ſouerchio deſiderio di vbbidire al ſuo ſourano & chariſſimo Signore ſi deueſſe chiedere perdono, i ſuoi oſſeruantiſſimi & deuotiſſimi ſerui Fiorentini che hor ſotto la Real, famoſa & fedele ombra de i gigli d'oro ripoſauano ſecuri nel ſuo Lione humiliſſimamente ſuplicherebbeno alla Maeſtà ſua che di lor concederlo liberalmente fuſſi contenta, eſſendoſi eſſi in coſi extrema baſſezza arditi dimoſtrarſi in cotal guiſa à tanta altezza, ma confidati poi nella vera bontà & valor di quella & nel douuto loro oprare ſenz'altra ſcuſa fare procederebbono all'adempire i corteſi & honeſti ſuoi comandamenti: Appreſſo hauēdola pregata che ſe il breue tempo che ſi haueuano propoſto che correr doueſſi (hauendo al principio di luglio ſua Maeſtà do-

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mandata la Comedia per mezzo Agosto) & la lontananza di cose infinite à cio necessariamente richieste la rendessero ancor men degna di lei, che nõ sopra loro ma sopra le suddette cagioni ne cadesse il biasimo, si passo à dirle come la Comedia che tosto si doueua al suo conspetto presentare Calandra era titolata da loro fra molte altre eletta primieramente per cio che piaceuolißima era & di sollazzeuoli motti piena & da i piu intendenti stata sempre lodata & pregiata molto, & appresso per cio che era nata nella patria loro di Toscana & fattura di persona illustre & nelle buone lettere essercitata, & nutrita poi, & con sommo honore alzata dalla Chiarißima casa della Maestà Christianißima della Regina sua Consorte, & qui soggiunte alcune cosa in scusa della troppa simplicità di Calandro, & dello authore dello hauer troppo immitato, o vogliamo dir furato da Plauto molte delle piu care & belle cose che esso haueßi & supplicato tutto reuerente la Maestà sua che di prestare non si sdegnaßi alla loro Comedia attenta vdienza con quella istessa Realißima & cortese benignità con laquale si era degnata comandare che fusse recitata dauanti à lei.

Fece partendosi luogo à vno che venendo à recitare lo argumento dette principio al primo atto della Comedia ilquale pòi che fu fornito ritorno in su la scena l'eta del Ferro accompagnata dalla Crudeltà, Auaritia, & Inuidia: delle quali innanzi che io vi descriua i vestimenti vi voglio auuertire come lo argumento della Comedia fu fra l'altre mutato in questa parte, che doue lo authore finge (come sapete) la fauola essere auuenuta in Roma si disse essere accaduta in Firenze & però tutti li strioni furono (eccetto il Negromante che vesti alla Grechesca) vestiti ricchißimamente (secondo però il grado di ciascuno) alla Fiorentina.

Hanc

Haueua la Crudeltà in dolſo vna veſta di tocca d'oro orangiata laquale era tutta coperta di ſcaglie di velluto verde à guiſa di Serpente i piedi haueua di Coccodrillo, & il capo coperto di vna capellaia di Serpi à guiſa di furia & in vna delle mani teneua vna falce, & nell'altra vn coltellaccio da beccai, & era cinta con vna Serpe.

L'auaritia era veſtita d'vna veſta ſenza manicha coperta di diuerſe ſorte di drappi ricchiſsimi ma congiunti male inſieme tanto che pareuano ſtracciati: haueua appiccato ſopra la veſta molte borſe, & molte ſopra il capello che haueua in capo & tutte ſerrate: le ſue gambe erano coperte d'vn raſo colombino & ſopra quello velo tale che moſtraua gnudo ma vna carnagione liuida, & coſi erano le braccia le quali ſi teneua di continouo ſerrate al petto.

L'inuidia haueua vna veſta di velluto verde alto & baſſo & in capo certi capelli mezzi canuti, & male vniti, tal che pel capo ſi la vedeuano alcuni luoghi pelati & in mano teneua Serpi troncate nel mezzo delle quali moſtraua cibarſi.

Poi che l'età del Ferro hebbe inſieme con le compagne fatto reuerenza à ſua Maeſtà diſſe i ſequenti verſi.

Inuitiſsimo Henrico, io prego humile,
Che voi non mi ſcacciate (ohime) dal Regno,
Che ſotto il mio poter tanti anni tegno,
Et s'à voi pare indegno
Il ſuo paſſato oprar, di cangiar ſtile
Hoggi il mio ferro vi promette, & giura
Che per la gente pura
Difeſa fia contra l'iniqua, & vile,
Et porra in voſtra man dal Indo, à Tyle:

Et

Et di quanti unqua harete aspri nemici
V'empierà di triomphi alti, & felici.

Questi finiti, si ritirarono due da una parte della scena, & due dall'altra per non tenere la vista alli spettatori di alcune persone che ritratte in pittura al naturale erano fatte passare dinanzi al foro, laqual cosa seguì sempre alla fine di tutti à quatro li atti, dico di passare alcuni simili personaggi i quali erano la maggior parte ritratti di alcune folle buffoni & Nani che seguitano la Corte i quali personaggi mentre che passauano era dentro da quatro voci cantato in Musica quei versi che poco innanzi haueua recitati l'età del ferro, & nel medesimo tempo sonata la medesima Musica da quatro violoni da gamba & da quatro flauti d'Allamagna: Et finita la Musica l'età del Ferro fatta di nuouo reuerenza al Re (si come feccion sempre al venire & al partirsi tutte quelle persone che vsciuano per intermedij riseruato Apollo) se ne ritornò con le compagne dentro & Lidio femina ascendo fuora con Fannio suo seruo & Tiresia sua nutrice diedi cominciamento al secondo atto: ilquale poi che fu al suo fine peruenuto vscì nella scena l'età del Bronzo che haueua in sua cōpagnia la Fortezza, la Fama, & la vendetta.

Era la Fortezza vestita d'una sottana di drappo d'oro interzo riccio su setta gialla: laquale era coperta d'una vesta aperta dinanzi di alluciolato bigio le mostre dellaquale erano di teletta d'oro pagonazza, & così le maniche, in capo haueua una celata coperta di velluto rosso & tutta ricamata d'oro, di perle, & d'altri gioie, i suoi calzari erano con sgomfi di tocca d'oro, & in mano portaua una colonna rotta nel mezzo.

La Fama haueua una vesta di velluto tanè chiaro tutta coperta di lingue, orecchij occhi & alie, & in piede portaua certi

calzaretti, con l'ali, in capo haueua vna bellißima acconciatura di velo pure scompartita con lingue, orecchi, & occhi, & in mano teneua vna Tromba.

La vendetta era vestita d'vna sottana di raso chermisi rosso con vn mantello di velluto rosso allucciolato d'oro à trauerso legato sopra la spalla: in capo haueua vna acconciatura di tocca d'oro con seta rossa & in mano vn gran coltello tutto sanguinoso & i suoi piedi erano d'orso: comincio l'età del Bronzo.

Io che del Bronzo fui
L'età de altero Henrico,
Che mi torniate (prego) al primo stato,
Che quanti hebbe il mio secol mai con lui
Duci, à cui fusse il vero honore amico
Vi porrò sotto, o dal finistro lato,
Ch'à quel di Gioue nato
Parranno oscuri ancora i mostri sui
Si chiari al tempo antico
Che'l Mondo mostro, & di virtu nemico
Ridoto al buon sentier, domo da vui
Si terra vndi beato.

Et qui ritiratisi con le compagne da parte (per la cagione che gia vi hò detto) fu subito dentro da quatro voci cantato in Musica il sopra detto Madrigale & da tre storte & vn trombone nel medesimo tempo sonato: la qual Musica poi che hebbe hauto fine la deta età sene torno con le compagne dentro, & Fessenio vscendo all'hor fuora co i panni di Calandro comincio il terzo atto ilquale poi che fu peruenuto al suo fine venne in su la scena l'età d'argento con laquale era Cerere, Pales, & l'Agricultura.

Haue

Haueua Cerere vna vesta di raso verde tutta coperta di spighe di grano cuciteui maestreuolmente sopra, & in capo vna bellissima acconciatura di veli doue erano inserte assai di dette spighe in mano portaua vn Corno di douitia i calzari haueua verdi.

Pales era vestita d'vna veste di pelle pellate di bianco & nero che le veniua fino à mezza gamba: i calzari haueua di raso chermisi coperti di velo tale che pareua scalza, & similmente le braccia lequali non eran coperte dalla vesta si non fino al gomito à canto le pendeua à bellissimo Zaino di gatti di Spagna & in capo haueua vna testa di vitello, & in vna delle mani vno Agnello & nell'altra vn baston pastorale.

L'agricultura vestiua d'vna vesta di raso bigio scuro bandata di velluto del medesimo colore: ilquale velluto era con opera, & haueua il fondo d'argento tale che mostraua molto ricca la vesta: laquale era tutta sparsa d'Alberi & d'herbe intagliate su raso verde, & con ordine cuciteui sopra, in capo haueua vna acconciatura bellissima tutta piena di detti Alberi & herbe intagliate, i suoi calzari erano di tela d'argento coperti di velo, in mano portaua vna vanga & vna marra & in spalla vno Aratolo. Disse l'età d'argento.

Io che l'età d'argento
Son, valoroso Henrico, humil vi chieggio
Di riceuer con voi bramato seggio,
Et senza molto hauer noia, & tormento
Vi darò in lunga vita
Dolce pace, & gradita
Qual io gia vidi, & piu fra voi non veggio:
Et come à Lauro suole
Crescente intorno desiata prole.

Qui taciutasi, furono subito dentro i medesimi versi cantati in Musica da vna voce sola accompagnata da cinque li vti, vn violone da gamba & vna spinetta dopo laqual Musica essendosene la detta età con le cõpagne ritornata dentro Fuluia vscendo fuora cominciò il quatro atto: alla fine delquale venne l'età dell'oro accõpagnata dalla Pace, Iustitia, & Religione.

Era la Pace vestita d'vna vesta di raso bianco bandata d'vna teletta d'argento con dua fili di perle alintorno: i suoi calzari erano di raso bianco: l'acconciatura del capo che era di velo biãchissimo s'intrecciaua cõ i capelli i quali erano biondi: in mano portaua vna verga in cima della quale erano due mani che s'impugnauano.

La Iustitia haueua vna sottana di tela d'argento arricciata con pelo di seta nera & di sopra à quella vna vesta aperta dinanzi di velluto bigio con opera & fondo d'argento con certe rosette d'argento molto ricca, i suoi calzari erano di tocca nera & d'argento, l'acconciatura del capo haueua di capelli intrecciati con detta tocca in vna mano teneua vn paio di bilance argentate, & nell'altra vna spada ignuda cõ fornimenti d'argento.

La Religione haueua vn habito fino in terra di raso azurro tutto rigato d'oro, che le copriua le spalle & era cinto in sorte che la parte di sopra ricadeua al quanto piu giu che la cintura & veniua si largo che assai ageuolmente nel detto ricadimento teneua tutta à due le braccia cauando fuora solamente le mani. Di sotto à quella haueua vna vestetta di teletta pagonazza con opera che si vedeua solo il dinanzi doue era lo sparato del primo habito sopra delquale erano cuciti con equale spatio molti calici intagliati su raso giallo: in capo haueua velo bianchissimo: & in mano le tauole di Moyse.

L'età mi chiamo Aurata, & vengo à voi
Gran Re per esser vostra, & ven'assegno
In premio Pace, honor, nome immortale,
Fia il vizio in bando, & tutti i serui suoi,
Iustitia & Fede dal superno Regno
Per ritornar fra noi spiegheran l'ale,
Poi si simil la Terra al Ciel farei.
Ch'ad habitar con voi verrien gli Dei.

Come l'età dell'oro hebbe detto i soprascritti versi, & che dentro furono cantati in Musica da cinque vòci, & nel medesimo tempo sonati da tre tromboni & dua Cornetti se ne parti con le sue compagne, & Samia vscendo di casa Fuluia con la borsa de danari seguito il quinto Atto della Comedia laquale poi che fu al suo fine per venuta ritornatò Apollo con la Lyra & seco hauendo menata l'età dell'oro accompagnata dalle medesime compagne cioe Pace, Iustitia, & Religione, cantò le sotto scritte stanze.

Portaua l'età dell'oro in mano in Cambio del mele vn giglio d'oro maßiccio di tutto rilieuo alto tre quarti di braccio fatto in questo modo.

Posaua sopra vna basa triangulare le sue barbe in ciascuno canto della quale era vn piccolo scudo dentroui vn giglio rosso fiorito, & le barbe stauano tanto alte da essa che sotto quelle chiaramente si vedeua vna piccola figura che stando come abbattuta rouescio in terra, haueua da vn lato vna ruota rotta & dall'altro vna vela stracciata: in su la basa del nodo stauano fra l'vna & l'altra foglia de i canti (le punte delle quali erano volte in basso) tre piccole figure pur di rilieno & d'oro (si come anco era l'altra) appogiate à i gambi delle tre foglie del mezzo che haueuano la punta distesa in alto, hò detto appogiate à i

gambi delle tre foglie del mezzo, però che il giglio era in tal modo diuisato che in ciascuna delle tre parti si vedeua vna forma di esso perfetta, sopra la cima delle dette tre foglie posaua vna gran palla d'oro intagliata sottilmente con misura à modo di globo geografico, nella parte di sotto dellaqual palla (che si apriua nel mezzo, & la detta parte restaua appiccata alle foglie) era vn vasetto da profummiere d'onde esalaua suauissimo odore per alcuni buchi posti maestreuolmente nella parte di sopra della palla: l'vna delle dette tre figure haueua in mano vna serpe & vno specchio, l'altro vn paio di bilance & vna spada. Et la terza vna colonna rotta nel mezzo, & questo fu il presente che la Natione Fiorentina fece alla Regina ilquale peso marchi vēti & fu in tutte le sue parte cosi eccellentemente lauorato che li. CCL. scudi che si pagarono pella fatione furono da tutti quelli che vedere il vollano poi da presso che furono molte giudicati benissimo impiegati.

Apollo.

Inuitissimo Henrico, alte nouelle,
Rimandato da Gioue al fin vi porto,
Che vuol ch'homai per voi si rinouelle
Ogni antico valor, che'n tutto è morto,
Si che'l seco dipoi sempre vn appelle
Suo chiarissimo ben, salute, & porto,
Et per questo adempir l'Aurata etate
Vi dona, che compagna, & serua haggiate.
Nè senza esser lassù lungo contrasto
Di tal gratia il Motor v'ha fatto degnò,
Però che'l fero Marte al Mondo guasto
Cercaua essere ancor guida, & sostegno
Sequendo che i miglior rapina, & pasto

Fus

Fusser de gl'empi, & gouernare il Regno
Sotto il suo ferro micidiale, & crudo,
Pien d'ogni vitio, & di bontade ignudo.
Ma le benigne stelle, & gl'altri Dei
Di piu dritto voler, le par che, e'l Fato
Hanno ottenuto al fin che tutti i rei
Sien per voi in bando, & torni il tempo andato,
Quando Iustitia, & verità con lei
Restando in terra hauean la pace à lato,
Fra tante altre virtu, che'l viuer nostro
Non molto era lontan dall'esser nostro.
Hor vi prendete adunque il sagro dono
Che vi è concesso, & gia negato à molti,
Con costei possedrete quanti sono
Regni, thesori, & ben quinci raccolti,
Poi vecchißimo, & bianco al sommo throno
Rimonterete fra i celesti volti
Lasciando nome eterno, & larga prole,
Che durera mentre io riuolga il Sole.

Cosi detto Apollo, si diparti, lasciando in su la scena l'età dall'oro con le compagne laquale all'hora incominciò.

Christianißimo Re gia mai contento
Ne in Ciel ne in Terra, mentre che io ci fui,
Non hebbi, ch'agguagliaßi quel ch'io sento
Hor che mi rende Dio serua di vui,
Et faro tal che'l vestro reggimento
Empiera il terren vostro, & tutti i sui
Di si dritto voler, che senza fallo
Adorera ciascuno il Regno Gallo.

Che

Che le compagne mie Iustitia, & vera
Pace & Religion, ch'io hò qui meco
Scese per voi quaggiu mattina, & sera
Apriranno i chiusi occhi al secol cieco,
Donando à gli scrittori altra matera,
Che non diede il Roman, nòn diede il Greco,
I quai piacquer sol qui, ma i fatti vostri
Fien chiari al Mondo, & à i superni chiostri.
Et per che al mio partir mi disse Gioue
Quanto ei dispon di voi, vi affermo chiaro,
Che Nestor propio, & chi piu visse altroue
Dira il Ciel d'anni appresso i vostri auaro,
Et dopo mille inuitti, & rare proue
Spogliando il nel senza sentirne amaro
Lascerete di voi si larghi frutti
Ch'empieran d'ella terra i lidi tutti.
Et à voi Realissima Consorte
Sacra immortal, famosa Caterina
Vuol che in suo nome io vi prometta sorte,
Che stimata sara qual fia diuina,
A cui perpetue fieno, & fide scorte
Le virtu tutte, & sola voi destina
Per far beata, & por la pace inseno
Al vostro patrio Italico terreno.
Et per darui di ciò non dubbio segno
Per la mia man di questo giglio Aurato
Bel don vi fa che su nel suo gran Regno
Fu insieme con quei tre gia fabbricato,
Che ei mando all'hor, che l'animale indegno
Dalla Gallica insegna fu scacciato

Al

Al primo Re Christian sopra la fonte,
Che fe poi cose si lodate, & conte.
Riguardate in lui ben come fortuna
Sotto il suo gran valor vinta soggiace,
Et dell'alme virtu come ciascuna
Dell eterne sue frondi ombra si face,
Et lieto il Mondo, & senza cura alcuna
Come sopr'esso si riposa, & giace,
Et qual gloria haggia il Tosco fior vermiglio
Di vagheggiar il Franco aurato giglio.
Hor il prendete adunque, & con queste armi
Soggiocate Fortuna alzate il Mondo,
Nutrite le virtu, ch'ai bronzi, è i marmi
Ogni nome che gl'han resti secondo,
Ne pur Hetruria, & Gallia in alti Carmi
Faranno il suon di voi chiaro, & giocondo,
Ma chiameran felice il secol vostro,
Il Gange, & l'Indo, il freddo Arturo, & l'ostro.

Et qui scesa la detta età della scena con l'aiuto d'vna piccola scaletta fatta à certa strana fantasia, che in vn tratto fu da vn lato cauata di sotto il palco sene andò con le compagne à fare il presente alla Regina ritornando sene poi per la medesima via in su la scena, oue in quel medesimo stante vscì da quel luogo onde era prima vscita l'Aurora: la Notte à sedere sopra d'vn carro à quatro ruote tirato da dua Gufi fatti di cartone dipinti & si grandi che dentro standoui dua putti tirauano nel modo che sopra vi dissi hauer fatto i Galli l'Aurora, se non che i Gufi erano legati con taffettà nero: il carro era dipinto di colore oscuro & dal mezzo in giu coperto tutto alintorno di tocca nera. Ella era vestita di drappo d'oro su seta nera, coperta poi di

P

ſopra con vn vel nero, tale che non oſtante la oſcurità moſtraua vn certo chè di ſplendore: in capo haueua vna acconciatura ſtellata con la Luna ſopra la fronte: le ſue alie erano di quel medeſimo drappo che la veſta, & i calzari di velo nero: & paſſando ſu per la ſcena cantò al ſuono di due ſpinette, quattro flauti trauerſi & quatro violoni da gamba la ſeguente Canzona.

Colei ſon'io, che con ſomnifer' ali
Furo il lume à i mortali,
Il biſolco, el Paſtore
Laſcin le Selue, e i campi, & l'altra gente
S'aſconda lietamente,
Et ſol ſi moſtre fuore
Tra i notturni animali
Chi ſia impiagato d'Amoroſi ſtrali.

Mentre che ella coſi cantaua, ſi viddono volare ſopra della ſcena alcuni di quelli vccelli che hanno in odio il ſole, & dentro s'vdi contrafare la voce loro: tutte le muſiche furono compoſte & gli ſtrumenti conſertati da Meſſer Piero Mannucci qua organiſta della Natione Fiorentina in noſtra Dama.

Hora ſe bene in cotal modo la notte dimoſtrò hauer dato l'vltimo fine alla Comedia niuno pero delli ſpettatori fu che per all'hora ſi moueſſe: ma ſtetteno tutti fermi à rimirare buon pezzo di poi lo apparato ilquale nel vero faceua vn belliſſimo & ſuntuoſiſſimo vedere.

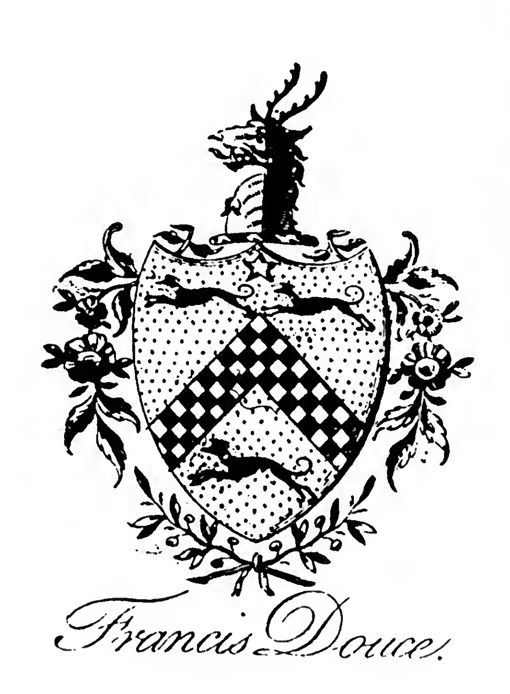
Circa alla ſodisfatione della Comedia, non pur ſua Maeſtà che lo diſſe piu d'vna volta, ma ancora i Signori & Gentilhuomini di Corte per vna voce tutti affermauano non hauer mai veduto il piu bello ſpettacolo & certo ſi può credere che & ſua Maeſtà & tutti gl'altri diceſſero quello che veramente ne ſentiuano, poi che vdendo due giorni appreſſo come quella

ſera

ſera la ſi rifaceua à preghiera di queſti della terra, che non vi erano potuti la prima volta entrare ſua Maeſtà in aſpettata vi venne (ſi come anco fece la Regina, & tutta la Corte) non oſtante, che fuſſe l'hora à punto della ſua cena: laquale prolungò per dopo la Comedia, che durò quatro hore, ò dauantaggio & ando ſempre tanto bene che non vi ſegui mai pure vn minimo errore dallaquale poi partendoſi ſua Maeſtà diſſe eſſerſi piaciuta ancora piu che la prima volta.

Piacque à ſua Maeſtà la ſeconda volta ſtare con alcuni Signori à vedere ſul palco oue innanzi che cadeſſe la cortina volle (fattiſi venire auanti tutti li ſtrioni) eſſer da coloro che haueuano la cura della Comedia di tutto particolarmēte informata. Alla ſua partita poi di queſta terra, fece donare alli ſtrioni cinquecento ſcudi d'oro, & la Regina trecento, di modo che il Barlacchi, & li altri ſtrioni che di Fierenze ſi feciono venire in giu ſene tornano con vna borſa piena di ſcudi per ciaſcuno.

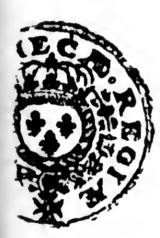



Francis Douce.

Le grand triumphe

FAICT A L'ENTRE'E DU
Treſchreſtien, & touſiours victorieux
Monarche, Henry ſecond de ce
nom Roy de France, En ſa
noble ville & cité
de Lyon,
Et de la Royne Catherine
ſon eſpouſe.





Imprimé, l'An mil cinq cens
quarante & huict.

Aux Lecteurs.

LES citoyens & habitants de Lyon, pour l'amour qu'ilz ont en leur vertueux & magnanime Prince, Henry second de ce nom Roy de France. Auoyent longuement attendu & desiré son tresheureux aduenemēt, lequel il auoit depuis son coronement differé par long espace de temps pour plusieurs raisons, que tres prudemment il consideroit. Or apres quil eust visité & faict entrée en aucunes villes de Piedmont, Sauoye, & Daulphiné, delibera au retour entrer en ladicte ville de Lyon, à la grand resiouyssance des Lyonnois. Qui feirent si bien leurs apprestz, & meirent si bon ordre, que l'entrée fust tres magnifique. Et ne puis croyre, que le triumphe tant renommé de Cesar, fust de si grande valeur & estime que cestuy cy. Tant à la comparaison des deux Princes entrants, que des peuples receuans, comme vous pourrez cy apres voir.

Le grand Triumphe faict

À L'ENTRÉE DV TRESCHRESTIEN, Et touſiours victorieux Monarche, Henry ſecond de ce nom Roy de France, en ſa noble ville & cité de Lyon. Et de la Royne Catherine ſon eſpouſe.



CElle braue & magnifique entrée fuſt faicte le dimenche vingt & troiſieſme du moys de Septẽbre, l'an mil cinq cens quarãte huict, auquel iour le Roy accõpaigné de ſes Princes, Barons & Cheualiers, procédant à l'effect de ſon entrée, vint pres ladicte ville de

Lyon, & se rendit en vne maison priuée, ou pend pour enseigne le mouton, au dessus de l'Obseruance distant des portes quatre gectz d'arc ou enuiron, la ou il receut l'obeissance, offres, & requestes de ceulx de ladicte ville, attēdant les compagnies qui s'ensuyuent.

¶ Deuant tous marchoient les gens du Preuost à cheual bien equippez, & en bon ordre.

La premiere bande, marchoient les Hacquebuziers de ladicte ville, lesquelz estoyēt en nombre de cent cinquāte, & marchoiēt trois par ranc, & estoyent habillez de la liurée du Roy, blanc & noir, auecques leurs enseignes, guidons, tabourins, & Fiffres, lesquelz faisoit bon veoir.

A la seconde, marchoiēt les Bouchiers de la ville, habillez tous de rouge, portāt tous picques en bonne ordonnance, marchant trois par ranc, lesquelz estoient en nombre de trois cens quarāte. Et marchoient ensemble trois enseignes au milieu des trois bandes, cōme Bouchiers, Cartiers, & Cousturiers, auec tabourins, Fiffres, en chascune compagnie, & ayant chascun sa diuise.

A la troisiesme, estoiēt les Cartiers, bien equippez, & en bonne ordōnance, & marchoient trois par ranc, desquelz le nōbre estoit de six vingtz.

A la

A la quatriesme, estoient les Cousturiers, semblablement acoustrez de mesme liurée, blanc & noir, lesquelz estoient en nõbre de sept vingtz, & marchoiẽt trois par ranc, bien equippez d'armes auec tabourins & Fiffres.

A la cinquiesme, estoient les Orfeures, portant tous des morrhions sur la teste, lesquelz estoient enuiron quatre vingtz & six, à trois par ranc. Et marchoient trois enseignes ensemble, au millieu des trois bandes, comme Orfeures, Tissotiers, & Tainċturiers, auec tabourins & Fiffres.

A la sixiesme, estoient les Veloutiers, & Tissotiers ensemble, portant la liurée dudiċt Seigneur, & marchoient trois par ranc, lesquelz estoient en nombre trois cens soixante & six, auec tabourins & Fiffres.

A la septiesme, estoiẽt les Tainċturiers, habillez de la liurée dudiċt Seignr, portant armes de mesmes, & marchoient trois par ranc, lesquelz estoiẽt en nombre de cinq cens trente, auec tabourins & Fiffres.

A la huiċtiesme, estoient les Massons, en belle ordõnance, à trois par ranc, en nõbre de sept cens trente. Et marchoiẽt ensemble trois enseignes, au millieu des trois bandes, cõme Massons, Chappuys, & Selliers.

A la.ix.eſtoient les Chappuys, habillez de diuers habitz, portant la liurée dudict Seigneur, bien equippez & en bon ordre, marchant trois à trois, leſquelz eſtoient en nombre de cent.

A la.x. eſtoient les Selliers, en bonne ordonnance, marchants trois par ranc, leſquelz eſtoient en nombre de quatre vingtz.

A la.xi. eſtoient les Eſpingliers, & marchoient enſemble trois enſeignes au meillieu des trois bandes, comme Eſpingliers, Tiſſerans, & Cordonniers, en nombre de ſix vingtz.

A la.xii. eſtoient les Tiſſerans, portant la liurée dudict Seigneur, marchant trois par ranc, en nombre de deux cens.

A la.xiii. eſtoient les Cordonniers, bien equippez & en bon ordre, portãt la liurée dudict Seigneur : marchants trois à trois, en nombre de vnze vingtz.

A la.xiiii. eſtoient les Baſteliers, equippez de meſmes, marchants trois à trois, portans tous mourrhions ſur la teſte & autres armes. Et marchoient enſemble trois enſeignes au milieu des trois bandes, comme Baſteliers, Fondeurs, & Chappeliers, en nõbre de quatre vingtz & dix.

A la.xv. eſtoient les Fondeurs, portans la liurée dudict Seigneur, blanc & noir, trois à trois,

en nomb

en nombre de ſix vingtz.

A la. xvi. eſtoient les Chappelliers, leſquelz faiſoit beau veoir, marchants trois à trois, en nõbre quatre vingtz & dix.

A la. xvii. eſtoient les Tanneurs, portans tous la liurée dudict Seigneur, en nombre de quatre vingtz & dix.

A la. xviii. eſtoient ceulx de S. Vincent, marchans trois à trois, en nombre de trois centz. Et marchoient enſemble trois enſeignes, au millieu des trois bandes: comme Sainct Vincent, les Pelletiers, & Meſsieurs les Imprimeurs.

A la. xix. eſtoient les Pelletiers, portant la liurée dudict Seigneur, marchants trois à trois, en nombre de ſept vingtz.

A la. xx. bande eſtoient Meſsieurs les Imprimeurs tous habillez de Iaulne, portans la liurée dudict Seigneur: comme plumes blanches bonetz noirs, marchants trois a trois, en nõbre de trois cens cinquante. Vne chaſcune deſdictes bandes, ayant Fifres & tabourins.

Les nations eſtranges.

Apres marchoit la Seigneurie Lucoyſe à cheual, en grande magnificẽce auec manteaulx de velours

lours noir : les Lacquetz estoient habillez de velours blanc & noir à la liurée du Roy, auec lesquelz estoiēt quatre petits enfans à cheual, habillez de toille d'argent, teste & iambe nues, à la facon antique, vsitée aux triumphes anciens, que le Roy regardoit moult vouluntiers.

En apres marchoit la Seigneurie Florentine à cheual, habillez de velours Rouge Cramoysi, parés de drap d'or, auec quatre semblables petits enfans à cheual, habillez à la mesme facon des precedents.

Puis marchoiēt les Milannois à cheual, en grād magnificence, portant la liurée du Roy.

Consequēment marchoient messieurs les Allemans à cheual, habillez de casaques de Satin noir, portant la liurée dudict Seigneur. Leurs pages à cheual, habillez de satin blanc, & pareillemēt leurs Lacquetz, hors mis leurs coletz, lesquelz estoient brodez de noir.

Le Preuost de la ville marchoit apres, auec ses Archiers, deuant messieurs de la Iustice & les Escheuins.

Les enfans de la ville.

Apres marchoient les enfans des Bourgeois

de la

de la ville, gens de piedz, auec leurs enſeignes, ha-
billez à la mode Turquoyſe, tous de velours &
de ſatin cramoyſi, broché d'or & d'argent par
tous couſtez, auec pluſieurs deuiſes & paſſemens,
portant botines aux iambes, picquées & dorées,
d'or & d'argent : auec coletz de velours rouge,
tous brochés de meſmes, & force chaines d'or,
ioyaulx, & aneaulx. Et portoient tous Hauber-
geons, ayans leurs eſpées en forme de cymeterre,
attachées a des gueulles de Lyons d'or, d'vn cou
ſté & d'autre. Sur la teſte auoiẽt tous morrhions
dorés, auec perles & autres pierres precieuſes, ri-
ches a merueille & fort triumphants, auec les plu-
mes de meſme ſelon la liurée du Roy.

En apres marchoient les enfans des Bourgeois
de ladicte ville, gens a cheual, habillez a la Tur-
quoyſe, les cheuaulx eſtoient bardez de drap d'or
& d'argent, Sonnettes d'or & d'argẽt, pierreries
ſur les bardes, portant morrhions comme deſſus,
encor de beaucoup plus riches & triumphants
que les autres.

Apres toutes leſdictes compagnies de la ville,
venoient à cheual grand nombre de Gentilz hõ-
mes, & autres gens, tant de ceulx qui ſuyuoyent
la Court, que d'autres qui eſtoient venuz pour
veoir la magnificence de l'entrée.

La maiſon du Roy.

Premierement marchoient les Suyſſes, garde dudiɑ Seigneur, en tres belle ordonnance, leſquelz faiſoit bon veoir, marchants troys à troys, en nõbre de ſix vingtz, auec tabourins & Fifres, habillez de la liurée dudiɑ Seigneur.

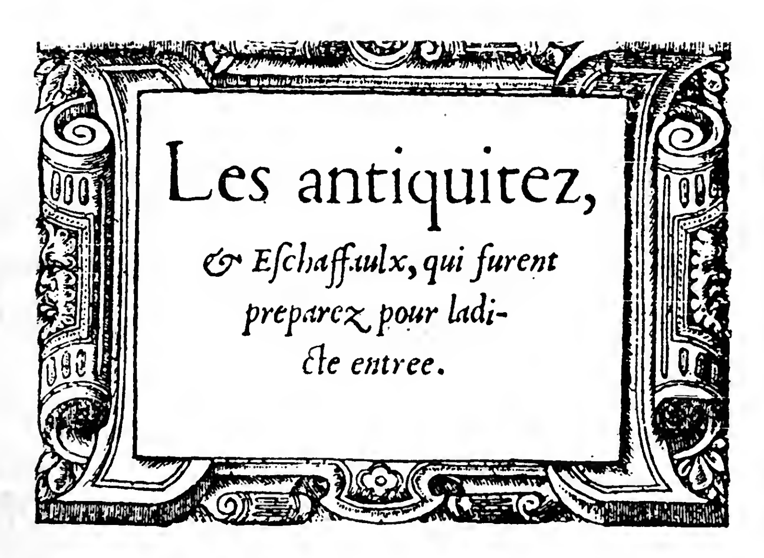
Puis marchoient les Archiers de la garde dudiɑ Seigneur, à cheual & en bon ordre.

En apres marchoient les cents Gentilz hõmes dudiɑ Seigneur, en bon ordre, leſquelz faiſoit bon veoir.

Monſieur le grand Eſcuyer alloit deuant le Roy fort magnifiquemẽt, portant l'eſpée d'honeur à ſon couſté, & eſtoit le Roy ſoubz vn poeſle ou ciel, fort riche à ſa liurée.

Puis venoit le Roy, en grand magnificence, auec les Princes, Cardinaulx, Gentilz hommes, garde & arierre garde.

Les



Les antiquitez,

& Eschaffaulx, qui furent preparez pour ladicte entree.

EN vn petit Pré aupres du Chasteau de Pierre Asſiſe, eſtoit Diane accompagnée des Nymphes, chaſſants dedans certains arbres la poſes, laquelle print vn Lyon, & apres l'auoir prins en feiſt vn preſent au Roy, qu'eſtoit la prefiguration du preſentement des Clefz, & luy fut dict ce qui s'enſuyt.

Le grand plaiſir de la chaſſe uſitée,
Auquel par mons, ualées & campaignes:
Ie me exercite auecques mes compagnes,
Iuſque en uoz boys Sire ma incitée:
Ou ce Lyon d'amour inuſitée,
Seſt uenu rendre icy en uoſtre bande:
Lequel ſoubdain à ſa priuaulté grande,

I'ay recogneu, & ses gestes humains:
Estre tout uostre, aussi entre uoz mains,
Ie le remetz, & le uous recommande.

Puis en apres tout vis à vis dudict Preau de la partie de l'eau, il y auoit vne Pyramide quarrée, ayant son piedz d'estat hault de douze piedz, auquel estoit escript.

Nomen qui terminat astris.

Et l'esguille ou Pyramide, auoit de haulteur cinquãte piedz en la basse partie, en laquelle estoit escript ce que s'ensuyt.

Totius Galliæ restauratori. M. Plancus, Restaurator Lugduni, P. C.

Et au dessus estoyẽt situées les deuises du Roy auec plusieurs crotesques.

En apres contre le front de la premiere porte, il y auoit deux figures paintes, l'vne Fidelité l'autre obeissance. Obeissance estoit appuyée sur vn ioug de beuf, prestant la main à Fidelité, & Fidelité luy prestoit l'vne des mains l'accolãt de l'autre bras, ayant sur son giron vn chien, & estoyent assises dans vn vergier semé de Lys: dont la closture estoit des deuises du Roy, & y auoit vn Lyon qui gardoit la porte, & estoit escript au pied d'estat des Colomnes.

Hic

Hic tibi fida domus, fidi hic ſub eſte penates.

Puis en la deuxieſme porte, appellée Bourg neuf, eſtoit vn grand portail, de quarante piedz de profondeur, & au premier front, il y auoit quatre Colomnes, ſituées ſur deux faces de piedz d'eſtat, & au milieu de chaſcune des deux Colomnes y auoit deux figures l'vne Pallas, preſentãt vn armet d'vne main, & de l'autre tenoit ſon eſcu, auquel eſtoit painčte la teſte de Meduſe. L'autre eſtoit Gloire, tenãt vn chappeau de Laurier, preſt à couroner. Et depuis l'eſtragalle de l'arc triumphal iuſques à l'Architraue, il y auoit deux autres figures : dont l'vne eſtoit Paix, tenãt d'vne main vne brãche de Laurier, de l'autre tenoit vn flambeau de feu bruslant les extenſilles de guerre. L'autre figure, c'eſtoit Concorde, tenant vne ruche à miel, aux pied de laquelle eſtoyẽt deux Colombes, ſe baiſant l'vne l'autre.

Puis l'Architraue, la frize, la corince, & au deſſus vn grand front, qui tenoit la quadrature de l'Arc, en ligne pendiculaire ſur les deux Colomnes prochaines de l'Arc triumphãt, auquel eſtoit eſcript ce qui s'enſuyt.

Ingredere Henrice ingredere Rex Chriſtianiſſime ac inuičtiſſime, urbem tuam Lugdunum antiquam Romanorum Coloniam, ut deuotiſſ. ciuibus tuis ſecuritatem Reipublicæ præſtes æternam.

Sur le gros Rochier qui ioinct audict portail, estoient six ioueurs d'instrumẽs, habillez en Satyres, lesquelz faisoit bon ouyr.
Puis il y auoit deux Pillastres, assises dessus les deux Colomnes, & entre le front & le Pillastre, estoient deux figures, l'vne estoit Mars prest à batailler, l'autre estoit Iupiter, tenant la fouldre prest à fulminer. Plus il y auoit l'Architraue, frize & corince, & le tout faict à lentour. Puis estoit le Frontispice, auquel estoit Diane assise, tenant son arc & vn Croyssant, accompagnée de deux Nymphes, dont l'vne tenoit vn espieu, & l'autre vn cornet, auec suyte de chiens de toutes sortes. Puis y auoit au dessus du Frontispice, trois assietes, la ou estoient situés trois Lyons, le premier de l'vn des coustez tenoit les armoyries de France, celuy du milieu tenoit vn Croyssant, & l'autre de l'autre cousté tenoit les Armoyries du Roy, & de la Royne, & au dessoubz de l'Arc triumphant, estoit Renõmée, presentant deux Lys, l'vn blanc, signifiant Frãce, & l'autre rouge, signifiant Florence, & au fons dudict portail, estoiẽt deux figures painctes, c'est à sçauoir, Foy & Iustice.
Puis au Griffon il y auoit vne grãde Colomne de la haulteur de cinquãte trois piedz, sur laquelle estoit vne grãde figure aussi haulte ou plus que le naturel de Bosse, nommée France, couronant vn

H. d'vne courone Imperialle,& au bas de ladicte figure eſtoit eſcript ce que s'enſuyt.

Suo regi fœliciſsimo, fœliciſsima Gallia,

Et ſur la plante du pied d'eſtat de ladicte Colomne, eſtoiēt aſsiſes deux figures de Boſſe, dont l'vne eſtoit le Temps, tenāt en la main dextre vn Horrologe de voirre, & de l'autre vne Faulx, & l'autre eſtoit Renommée, tenant auſsi en ſa main dextre vne trōpette, & en chaſcune figure vn eſcript, & s'appelloit ladicte colōne, Colōne de victoire, aornée de Trophée, & d'vn couſté & d'autre deux piedz d'eſtat, ou eſtoiēt eſcritz ces vers.

Aurea iam properat luſtris labentibus ætas;
Fient & meritis Sceptra minora tuis.

Sur leſquelz eſtoient deux femmes, leſquelles parloient, dont l'vne eſtoit nōmée Immortalité, ayant vn chappeau de Laurier ſur la teſte, & s'appuyoit de la main ſeneſtre ſur vn petit pied d'eſtat, ou eſtoient eſcriptz ces motz.

Sola uirtute immortalitate digna,

Et auoit trois courones en ſon bras dextre, preſentant vne courone de cheſne, & ceſte dicte fēme auoit des aesles, & deſſoubz ſes piedz force extenſilles de guerre, & ſe repoſoit ſur vn monument.

IMMORTALITE'.

L'heur qui t'attend immortalité digne,
Faict retourner ſoubz toy l'eage doré:
Parquoy la France icy t'a honoré,
De ce Trophée, à ta uertu condigne.

L'aut

L'autre femme eſtoit nommée Vertu, ayant vn chappeau de Laurier en ſa teſte, tenãt vne palme d'vne main, de l'autre tenoit vn fillé, dedans lequel eſtoyent pluſieurs Chaſteaulx, Villes, Sceptres, Couronnes, monſtrant que tout cela s'acquiert par vertu.

VERTV.

Le temps außi, lequel tout extermine,
Eſgallera la fame à tes merites:
Sceptres rendant & courones petites,
A' ta grandeur, de maieſté benigne.

Puis au port ſainct Paul, il y auoit deux Arcz triumphantz, dont à chaſcun Arc, eſtoyent poſe vne figure de Boſſe ou relief, deux foys auſsi grãde ou plus que le naturel : dont l'vne eſtoit le Roſne, faict en ſemblance d'home. L'autre la Saone, en ſemblance de femme : dont l'vne deſdictes figures gettoient du vin blanc, & l'autre gettoit du vin clairet, & entre les deux figures vn petit plus hault eſtoit vne teſte de Meduſe, qui gettoit de l'eau, & aupres eſtoit eſcript.

Tantùm naturæ beneficium Arâris & Rhodani fœliciter confluentium perpetuam tibi tuisq; ſpondet ubertatem.
Auec certains autres aornemens.

Puis à ſainct Eloy, auoit vn Temple d'honeur, lequel

lequel estoit à deux faces, & estoit aorné de batailles & triumphes Cesaricques, & pour la diffinitiue dudict Temple, il y auoit vn Dome percé à iour, duquel les Colomnes estoient aornées des Trophees, & à la sommille dudict Dome, il y auoit vn grand Croyssant, sur lequel Tẽple estoiẽt assis ioueurs de cornetz & d'instruments, & dedans la fraze dudict Temple, au deux coustez estoit escript.

Honoris uirtutisq; perpetuæ Henrico Principi inuictißimo Sacrum. D. D.

Puis au change, il y auoit vne Prospectiue, ioignant lesquelles estoient deux plates formes, sur lesquelles estoient deux personnes parlant, l'vn estoit Neptune, lequel auoit vn Rochier pres de luy, duquel sortit vn cheual artificiellement faict, & de bonne grace, & dict ce que s'ensuyt.

De mon tridant ce cheual ie procrée,
Non tant pour estre à l'hõme familier.
Que pour seruir cest heureux Cheualier:
Qui tout ce Siecle à son uenir recrée.

De l'autre cousté estoit Pallas, tenant vne lance, laquelle estoit toute blanche, & puis se conuertist en verdure, iectant par le bout force rameaux, & fleurs de Lys, & dict ce que s'ensuyt.

C De

De ceste Lance, ou la force est encrée.
De Mars iadis conuainquis les alarmes
De ces hayneurs humiliant les armes,
Luy rendant paix, qui plus au monde agrée.

Apres auoit au grand Palais vn Amphiteatre, auquel estoit située vne Fortune, attachée à vne Colomne, tenãt en sa main dextre vn Globe, tournant deuers Europe en la veüe, l'autre bras estoit attaché en ladicte Colomne, laquelle estoit aornée de la deuise du Roy en Moresque, & escript aupres d'icelle.

Imperij spes alta futuri.
Et de l'autre part.
Manent immota tuorum Fata tibi.

Puis à l'entrée du portail de Sainct Iehan, estoient deux grandes Plaintes, sur lesquelles estoient posées quatre Colomnes auec leurs estragailes enrichies de plusieurs Moresques, & l'entredeux de Crotesques, puis l'Architraue, la platte bende, & la corince, & au dessus de ladicte corince vn demy centre, auquel estoiēt situées troys personnes parlantes, dont celle du milieu estoit Religion Chrestienne, & les deux autres estoient deux figures paintes en l'Architecture, dont l'vne estoit nõmée Charité, & l'autre Foy, tenant

vn

vn calice, & au Frontiſpice, eſtoient ſituées les armes du Roy noſtre Sire, ſouſtenues par Prudence, & Iuſtice.

Plus deuant le logis du Roy, il y auoit vne Colomne, aſsiſe ſus vn pied d'eſtat, faict à l'Antique, ayant vingt cinq piedz de haulteur, ſur ledict pied d'eſtat eſtoiēt aſsiſes quatre femmes, leſquelles portoient quatre lampes, repreſentant les quatre Vertus, & s'appelle Colomne de victoire, & au pied d'eſtat, eſcript ce que s'enſuyt.

Henrici Franc. Regis uictoriæ ac uirtutibus indelebiliter.

La Colomne ayant cinquante & ſix piedz de haulteur, de raualement trois piedz, eſtant au deſſus vne pomme de diuerſes couleurs, ayant huict piedz de haulteur, & au deſſus vn Ange, ayant ſix piedz de grandeur ou plus, portant en chaſcune main vn chappeau de Laurier. Plus à la porte du logis du Roy, eſtoient trois figures, s'accollant l'vne l'autre: dont l'vne eſt le Roſne, & l'autre la Saone, & au milieu le Lyon, ayant plusieurs vaiſſeaux dedans, duquel ſort deux fleuues, & eſtoit eſcript.

Ob aduentum Henrici opt. principis uotis anteà, expetitum Rhodanus atque Arar gratulantur.

Et apres la harengue & reception, faicte par nosdictz Seigneurs de la ville, au Treschrestien Roy de Frãce, en venant il trouua lesdictz eschafaulx, ou il print vn grand plaisir, car c'estoit vne chose fort recreatifue à regarder. La magnificence de laqu lle ne se peult si bien descrire cõme elle a esté veue, tant aux choses ingenieusemẽt inuentées par grands & souuerains espritz, à celle fin de recreer le Roy, qu'aux richesses merueilleuses, & sumptueuses pompes de la ville, d'vn cousté, & de la Court de l'autre. Quant & quant le Roy descendoyẽt tous les vaisseaux, Galleres, Bregastes, Carraques, & Carraquõs, sans les autres basteaux de la ville, lesquelles portoient l'Artillerie, auec force trompettes, Clerons, Cornetz, Fiffres, & Tabourins, qui descendirent depuis le logis du mouton, iusques à sainct Iehan.

L'entrée de la Royne.





V lendemain le vingt & quatriesme iour de Septembre, fust faict semblable honeur à la Royne à son entrée, laquelle estoit en son chariot auec Madame Marguerite sœur vnique du Roy. Apres venoit en vne litiere la Royne de Nauarre, auec la Princesse sa fille. Et oultre y auoit si belle cõpagnie de Princesses, dames & damoyselles, de telle honesteté, grace & beaulté, que lon eust pensé que Pallas & les Muses, Venus & les Graces, Diane & les Nymphes y estoient. Ce iour les compagnies de la ville se habillarent de blanc & verd à la liurée de la Royne. Et passant par les

rues, trouua les figures & eschafaulx, que le Roy au iour precedent auoit trouué, en la mesme sorte, hors mis qu'il y eust changemẽt de harengues, cõme aupres du Chasteau de Pierre Assise, Diane, luy presentant le Lyon, qu'elle auoit prins, ainsi qu'il est dict cy dessus, luy dict.

Vous faisant part Princesse tresprudente
De nostre chaste & honorable queste
Vous presentant ceste amoureuse beste,
Qui de son gré toute à uous se presente.

Aupres du Change, ou Mercuce & Pallas estoient auec tous les mysteres declairez cy dessus, Mercure en luy presentant son trident luy dict.

Si ie uoulus le Roy tant estimer,
Que mon cheual de Troye luy donnay
Ce mien trident außi uous destinay
Pour auec luy dominer la grand mer.

Pallas auec sa Lance conuertie en verdure luy dict ce que s'ensuyt.

La France alors commencoye à aymer
Viuant pour uous princesse saige & bonne
La France en paix puis que le ciel s'adonne
A' uoz uertuz haultement consommer.

Et ce iour y eust semblable magnificence des galleres, & gabbions, portant la liurée de la Royne de

ne de Satin blanc & Verd, accompagnés des autres Galleres du Roy, les matelotz habillez de velours blanc & noir, aussi les Galleres du Cardinal de Ferrare, Archeuesque, & Conte de Lyon, habillez tous de Satin rouge, & les Galleres couuertes de mesmes velours rouge, & tous le demeurant en rouge, qui semblablement l'accompagnarent, depuis ledict logis du Mouton, iusques à sainct Iehan, le lendemain mardy, mercredy, ieudy, vendredy, & samedy, feirent ioustes sur ladicte eaue à la Lance, & autres batteries, tant qu'il y eust vne Gallere à fond, les fustes qu'ilz gettoient de tous coustez Lances a feu, fussées, tellement que lon estimoit que la riuiere fust toute couuerte de feu de la grand'abondance qu'ilz gettoient. Dauantage serez aduertis, que le vendredy ensuyuant, iour sainct Michel, le Roy tint son ordre en l'Eglise sainct Iehan, tant du cousté dextre, qu'a la senestre, faisant commemoration des Cheualiers de Lordre, iadis trespassez.

FIN.

Appendices

Appendix A

Giorgio Conegrani's Dispatch to the Duke of Mantua, Lyon, 4 October 1548, AS Mantua, *Archivio Gonzaga,* Serie E, busta 641, fols. 234–246v.

Descrittione dell'entrata delle Maestadi del Re et Regina in Lione.

[*fol. 234*] Prima ch'el Re venisse a Lione de tre dì, si affermò ad un luoco li vicino, decto la costa di S^to^ Andrea, per dar' aggio a quei della terra di mettersi in ordine, et di dar' fine medesimamente ad alcuni apparati che anco erano imperfetti in essa. Mons. Illmo el cardinale di Ferrara, como capo et governatore che n'è, lassata sua Maestà vi venne, et per accellerare le due cose sodette, et anco per ricevere loro Maestadi como son soliti far' tutti quelli che hano cottali dignitadi. Venuta la Dominica, el xxiiii di settembre, nel qual dì si era depputata la entrata, si vidde la mattina el ciel aperto senza nugolo alcuno, el sol chiaro et in fine l'aere et la verdura et la terra ridenti, quasi che anche loro volessero prestar' le forze sue et il suo vigore ad un tanto dì, non permettendo che fusse offuscato da nissun contrario che lo facesse parer' men bello di quel che parve ad ogn'uno et di quel ch'era in effetto; et oserò ben dir' che non vi fu nissuno fra tanta compagnia che perdonasse a spesa ne a faticha nissuna per mostrarsi in que dui giorni degno a loro Maestadi che le ponessero gli occhi adosso. Era nasciuta pochi dì inante una differentia tra gli Genovesi et gli Firrentini nella precedenza delle due cittadi, et benchè Mons. R^mo^ di Ferrara si fosse affaticato asai per accommodarla, nondimeno, visto che non vi facea niente, lassò puoi che procedessero como loro pareva, riserbato perhò che vi si trovasse ciescun di loro. Ma gli Firrentini con el favore della Regina ottennero ch'el Re li giudicasse superiori, di che sdegnati gli altri, non volsero passar' in ordine nella compagnia de mercanti, ma soli s'appresentavano a loro Maestadi, et fattale la riverentia si rettiravano puoi da un lato senza far' nissun'altra mostra.

[*fol. 234v*] Viè un luoco fuori della cittade un dui tirri di arcobuscio, sul camino di Parrigi, posto sopra la riviera della Sona, eminente su la collina, dillettevole et di molto buon aere, et viene chiamato La Insola [*Ile Barbe*]; là sua Maestà vi desnò la mattina, et anco sul mezzo giorno vi andorono all'incontro le genti di giustitia, gli arcieri della terra a cavallo, condotti dai suoi capi. Quali seguivano puoi venti insegne de piè sotto venti mestieri diversi, con le genti che le accompagnavano bene all'ordine et fornito ciescuno di picca o di arcobuscio; et anco alcuni vi n'erano armati, como de corsaletti o de giachi. De questi tutti gli primi erano quei che fanno gli arcobusci, et perche hanno gran copia di cottal arma, n'havea ciescun dui, un grande cioè sulle spalli et un piccioletto alla cintura: poteano ascender' costoro al numero di cento o più. Et loro passati veneano gli becchari, vestiti tutti di rosso, che pur' un solo non sé ne seria potuto veder' con altro colore, et erano ben da trecento. Seguivano gli terzi, gli thessadri da tella, gli quarti gli thessadri de drappi di seta, et gli sellari gli quinti. Et puoi tutti in uno quei che fanno le carte da giuocar', quei che fanno le guchie[*?*], gli marangoni et gli legnaruoli. Et presso di loro gli tentori di seta et gli tentori di fillo et di panno, seguiti dalli pelliciari, dalli calzolari, dai sarti et dai barcaruoli, quali haveano alle spalle in una tropa uniti quei che giuocano di ballestra, quei che tirrano lo archibuscio, et quei ch'essercitano l'arco. Veneano ultimi de tutti gli orephici et gli librari, de' quali dui [*fol. 235*] quanto è più mecanica l'arte et più alliena dal volgo de tutte le altre sodette, tanto più di spesa havean fatta di quelle et rendeano di sé più bella e più sontuoso vista asai. Haveano gli primi tutto'l vestir' loro di bianco et di turchino; et gli altri tutti di giallo. Nè de questi dui pur', ma de tutti gli venti mestieri gli cappitani, gli logotenenti et gli alferi haveano bellissimi et molto ricchi vestimenti, altri reccamati di oro, et altri carchi d'oro battuto.

Puoi che in questo tal ordine sodetto hebbero fatta la mostra davanti el Re et avviatissi puoi verso la terra, gli mercanti Italiani comparvero in quello, divisi in quattro parti, in Luchesi cioè, in Firrentini, in Milanesi et in Allamani. Gli Luchesi s'appresentorono in questo ordine. Passavano prima davanti loro quattro piccioli paggi, montati su cavalli grandi et vestiti all moresca di vello bianco sopra le carni et tirrato di modo ch'erano giudicati per ognun nudi, con la veste di sopra di vello d'argento aspersa de reccami medesimamente di argento; haveano in testa una caviata[*?*] de capigli rizzi et in gamba alcuni stivaletti di vello di argento, che non le coprivano se non solo dal ginocchio in giù; et in mano puoi un baston indorato che portavano sulla coscia dritta. Gli cavalli erano

parimente guarniti alla moresca di velluto riccamato. Seguivano puoi gli mercanti accoppiati per ordine con sagli di velluto negro et vesti di raso del medesimo colore, con le mostre di velluto; erano montati sopra di mulle con le coperte di panno negro [*fol. 235v*] bandate di velluto. Era presso di ciescun di loro due servitori a piè, con calcio, giupponi, berrette et scarpe di velluto bianco et le spade et le cinture bianche argentate; giongevano questi Luchesi in tutto al numero di tredici.

Gli Firrentini haveano medesimamente inanti loro se' paggi a cavallo con sagli di raso bianco ch'haveano le maniche scavezze al gombito, et di sotto esse si mostravano giupponi pur' di raso biancho reccamati como anco gli sagli de cordoni di argento; copria loro el capo un capello di raso bianco reccamato, et in gamba sopra de calcie bianche vi haveano tirrati bolzachini di raso bianco reccamati di argento; gli cavalli erano coperti di velluto cremesino, con reccami medesimamente di argento de su. Essi si videano apresso con sagli di raso morello et robbe di velluto cremesino, con le monstre di drappo di oro in campo morello, el console et doi altri consiglieri, cioè gli tre primi di loro, con le monstre delle robbe di drappo d'oro cremesino riccio sopra riccio. Gli loro cavalli haveano le coperte di panno morello bandate di velluto. Et ogn'un d'essi seguiva un servitore con calcie et giuppone di raso bianco et la spada et la cintura argentata; et erano como gli patroni di numero trentadoi.

L'ordine appresso era de Milanesi che si mostrorono con sagli et robbe di dalmasco negro, con tre liste di velluto all'intorno, et le maniche carche de pontali di oro, gli cavalli su ch'erano montati haveano le coperte medesimamente listate di velluto. Al cerco [*fol. 236*] di ciescun di loro marchiavano doi servitori con calcie et giupponi di raso cremesino, berrette et scarpe di velluto del medesimo, et le spade et le cinture dorate. Et non passorono questi sodetti el numero de dodeci.

Gli Allamanni quarti et ultimi de mercanti, ma primi perhò nell'ordine, si viddero con casache di raso negro bandate di velluto, giupponi et calcie di raso bianco et berrette di velluto negro con piume bianche di dentro, gli fornimenti de cavalli di velluto negro con franze di argento et seta negra all'intorno. De servitori non ne havevano se non ben pochi, ch'aggiongendo essi al numero di quaranta o più, non credo che di loro sé ne havesse potuto veder' più di otto o dieci con giupponi et calcie di cendal negro fodrati di raso bianco.

Ciescuna di queste quattro parti sodette havea elletto un console et dui consiglieri, ciovè quei tre che per ricchezze et per etade erano gli primi delli altri; et questi tali quando arrivavano là dove si era posto el

Re per vederli passare, le faceano riverenza a nome di tutta la sua parte, e per ogn'un di loro gli offerriva tutto lo havere, il poter' et le persone proprie, supplicandolo a non si sdegnar' sotto l'ombra sua di mantenerli in quel esser' et in quel stato in che si trovano di presente; et in fine farli gratia di tenerli nel numero de suoi più affettionati et veri servitori.

Gli più prossimi de mercanti, quantonque prossimi con qualche intervallo, furono gli nobili della terra, divisi in due compagnie, a piedi la prima et a cavallo l'altra. Quei primi fecero la lor monstra sotto una insegna rossa che nel meggio havea solo un [*fol. 236v*] leone che sosteneva colle zampe un crescente. Il cappitano si vedea nanti a tutti con quattro servitori al lato vestiti di cendal morello, et esso con un saglio di tella de argento, carcho de cordonzini di argento et negri, et sopra di quello una giuppa aspersa de reccami di oro con rosetti di or battutto fra l'un reccamo et l'altro, ciovè in quella parte ch'era vota; et havea cottal giuppa le maniche che non le passavano il gombito, et era aperta dal collo fin sulla ponta delle spalle, a guisa quasi di un busto de veste da donna, e'l vestir' tutto s'assimigliava all'anticho de greci, che si vede tessuto su de tapezzarie. Egli havea puoi nel meggio del petto una bocca di leon d'oro, a chi era appeso una cathena di oro medesimamente, et da essa pendeva una scimitarra pur' fornita d'oro. Le ornava la testa un capelletto di velluto negro riccamato tutto con dentro piume bianche e negre e verdi; in mano portava una corsesca co'l ferro dorato e'l resto dell'hasta riccamato; et havea in gamba bolzachini negri reccamati di argento et di oro. Lui passato, passorono appresso gli altri suoi, ch'erano ottanta in tutto et tutti con habiti della sorte medema di quel primo sodetto che dall'un all'altro non vi si scorgeva se non ben puoca o nulla differrentia. Erano gli tamburri et gli fiferi che li accompagnavano vestiti di raso morello, et buona parte di loro haveva anche servitori con questo tal colore.

Non finirono così tosto la mostra de piè questi tali, che quei da [*fol. 237*] cavallo cominciorono la loro sotto un stendardo rosso con el leon d'oro dentro ch'in una zampa portava il crescente et nell'altra tre gigli. El cappitano primo passava montato s'un bellissimo cavallo coperto tutto di un guarnimento di broccato d'oro reccamato, et egli con un saglio et la giuppa del medesimo, dico saglio et giuppone fatti sulla forma de quelle prime sodette, se non che di più solo la giuppa havea le maniche in modo di casacha, et al davanti di essa in luoco de bottoni splendevano diamanti et robbini finissimi. El capello era fornito tutto di perle, et per quella testa di leon d'oro ch'era appesa al petto de quei da piè vi havea posto egli una gran pietra lucentissima che di sotto facea un

annel d'oro, et in esso era la cathena, da chi puoi prendeva la scimitara bellissima et ben guarnita che ad una foggia nuova havea il fodro tutto coperto di gioie. Al suo lato marchiavano se' servitori a piedi vestiti di friso turchino; et nanti a lui tre paggi a cavallo, coperti gli cavalli et loro di raso medesimamente turchino. Appresso lui se ne vedeano quaranta altri che haveano sopra essi vestimenti della medesima sorte, et di puoco manco valore di quel primo, montati tutti benissimo, et con duoi servitori ciescuno vestiti di raso del colore del patrone; et era impossibile quasi di veder' gente meglio guarnita ne più ricca di questa tale, ch'al minimo di loro mi cred'io non fosse di costo quella giornata manco niente de trecento scudi.

Puoi che anche loro como gli altri s'hebbero et offerti et raccomandati a sua Maestà, comparvero [*fol. 237v*] ad un tratto tutti gli offeciali, gli procuratori, gli avocati, gli conseglieri et gli governatori tutti della cittade, che puoi in generale et al longo parlorono a sua Maestà sodetta et per essa le fu medesimamente risposto. Vennero puoco appresso gli gentilhuomini della corte per ordine, benche pochissimi se ne trovino qua di presente, ché buona parte d'essi è occupata altrove per gli serviti del Re. La guardia de Svizzeri loro seguì à piedi, et erano vestiti tutti di velluto negro et tella di argento. Et doppo questi passorono se' araldi con la cotta d'arme regale vestita, et altretanti trombetti. Et appresso el Marescial di S[to] Andrea, vestito tutto di velluto bianco, e'l gran scudiero di velluto negro carcho di oro con la spada regale cinta alle spalle. Et puoco presso di lui la Maestà del Re, coperto egli e'l cavallo de habiti di argento et di oro fatti a cathenine, che comparevano molto bene. Et como prima sua Maestà gionse alla porta del castello ch'è fuori della terra, fu tolto sotto'l baldachino che venea portato per se' de più antichi et più nobili della terra. Al suo lato passavano otto scudieri di scuderia tutti vestiti di bianco. Et doppo lui seguiva Mons. di Vandoma solo, con habiti di oro et negri fatti a groppo, et de tali anco n'era guarnito el cavallo. Mons. d'Anghien et il Duca de Monpensier appresso vestiti di velluto cremesino, et Mons. de Guisa et il prencipe della Rocca Surion con robbe di raso negro reccamate tutte et carche di oro battuto. Puoi alle sue spalle [*fol. 238*] cinque cardinali, di Borbone, di Lorena, di Vandoma, di Bollogna et di Guisa. Questi passati passorono ultimi di tutti gli arcieri della guardia del Re a cavallo. Ma quando si fu presso della porta del castello chiamata d'Ancisa, ch'el castello è posto nell'alto della collina et questa tal porta viè al disotto, nel meggio del colle si vidde un boscho de rami verdi, messo nuovamente in uno[?], et per dentro asai fiere salvatiche, dico fiere, ciovè huomini che si eran vestiti

alcuni habiti di tella con pelli cosciti di su, et tanto ben messi et così industriosamente che parea pur' ad ogn'uno che fussero quei veri di che havean la somiglianza sola. Davan loro la caccia alcune bellissime nimphe di Diana, ma como subito fu lor presso la Maestà del Re, la caccia hebbe ad un tempo fine, ché le fiere tutte si lasciorono senza contrasto alcuno pigliar' dalle donne, che legatane ciescuna una le menorono sulla riva del boscho et della strada; et Diana si puose nel meggio delle altre tutte con un leone legato ad una cathena d'oro che teneva al braccio, et era fatto così humano che con la lingua, con la codda et con le zampe non cessava di far' segni di mansuetudine a chi il teneva priggione. Essa vicino che fu sua Maestà tanto che potea intender' le sue parole, gli disse versi francesi di questo tenor' seguente:

O Aspettato et o chiamato spesso
Dai Dei là in cielo, e da noi quà giù in terra,
Et o temuto ugualmente sotterra
Da chi, sprezzando Dio, perdè se stesso. [*fol. 238v*]
Da chi fe' i regni a governarli messo,
Non per tenerli in sempiterna guerra,
Ma perchè conosciuto da ogn'un ch'erra,
Fia il suo falir' in tua bontà rimesso
Per le selve anco e per antri e per dumi
Si estende il scettro tuo, sappiamolo noi,
E per te incensi s'apparechia e doni.
Teco percio lassati i sacri lumi
Viverò sempre e fra mille altri heroi
Ti ripporrò, s'el secolo abbandoni.

Piacque oltre modo questa caccia et cottai versi a sua Maestà, qual puoi nel partir che fece de là già vicino alla porta del castello vidde posta sulla ripa della riviera una guglia, sulla forma di quelle guglie che anche si veggiono a Roma, di altezza de tre piche e meggia, tutta dipinta a liste bianche et nere, con picciole meggie lune tra l'un colore et l'altro et una asai grande sulla cima. Eravi scritto in più loghi di essa "Nomen qui terminat astris." Ma nel meggio sotto un gran scudo di Francia si leggeva "Totius Galliæ Restauratori M. Plancus Lugduni Restaurator."

Alla porta di Ancisa vi erano quattro collonne di legno depinte a verdura, due da ciescun lato dell'entrata; et sopra di essa un giardino de gigli, nel quale sedeano due donne, l'una con un leone al lato, et l'altra con un crescente sul capo; et questa dalla prima venea raccolta [*fol. 239*] inel grembo, che mostrava allegrezza mirabile di tenerla in cottal guisa.

Era scritto al disotto di esse "Sedes ubi fata quietas," et all'intorno della dal leone versi di questo soggetto:

Hor chi potrebbe mai
Narrar, scriver, pensare
Colla lingua, la puenna o con la mente,
Quanto contenta vai
Donna, puoi che d'intrare
Non s'è sdegnato in te il nobil crescente;
Qual spirto homai, qual annimal, qual gente
Fia di te più felice?
Qual altra alma radice
Abbellirà giardino
Ch'al tuo sacro divino,
Sicuro gia da fulmini et tempeste,
Non dia l'honor e l'ubbidienza preste.
Felice te per tanti frutti tui
Ma molto più che se' piacciuta a lui.

Si gionse de lì alla porta puoi della terra, che vien detta di Borgo nuovo; ma gionta ad essa vi n'havean congignata un'altra d'assi, depinta tutta et con quattro collonne como all'altra prima. Ma tra l'una et l'altra di esse vi sedeva una figura di donna, de quali la prima rappresentava Bellonna armata tutta, co'l scudo et la lancia depinti a crescenti; la seconda [*fol. 239v*] si mostrava la Pace, la qual con una face che teneva nelle mani dava el fuoco ad un gran fascio d'arme che l'era posto davante; era la terza la Concordia che in mano haveva un mazzo di canne ligate et ben strette insieme; et l'ultima la Vittoria che nella man sinistra portava una palma et nella destra una corona di lauro. A ciescuna di loro erano inscritti quattro versi Francesi sopra la testa, del seguente tenore.

A Bellona.
Nè l'esser Dea, nè di Dio figlia, e a Dio
Congionta mi dà nome infra la gente,
Ma questa insegna qui del bel crescente
Fa palese ad ogniun li imperio mio.

Alla pace.
Co'l lume di costui che mi dà il fuoco,
Et preso in un l'orgoglio et il furore,
Levarò homai dal mondo ogni Rancore
Che con tal scorta havrò per tutto loco.

Alla concordia.
Vedete stretti in uno amor' e fede,
Pace, tranquilità, fama e quiete,
Che dall'empireo al gran fiume di Lethe
Fan gloriosa e eterna la sua sede. [*fol. 240*]

Alla vittoria.
Dal bel giardin dei Dei ti porto, Henrico,
Palma, che verde ti fia sempre in mano,
E lauro, puoi che in questo campo aprico
Ti promette lo imperio d'ogni humano.

Al basso delle quattro figure si leggeva "Hoc quoniam non es veritus congredere nobis." Et sopra di esse nel meggio del portale questo in lettere maiuscoli: "Ingredere Henrice ingredere Francorum Rex christianiss. atque invictiss. urbem tuam antiquam Romanorum colloniam ut devotiss. civibus tuis securitatem rei. pub. præstes æternam." Più ad alto sopra delle collonne vi erano da un lato Giove con l'aquila appresso, et dall'altro Marte con la lupa a canto che dava el latte ai primi fonditori di Roma; et appresso de questi si vedeva Diana con l'arco et la pharetra al lato, che le veneano presentati per il Valore l'uno et per la Fama l'altra. Al più alto del portale sedeano tre leoni, che sostenevano un crescente il primo, el scudo di Francia el secondo et quel de Medici il terzo. Con la porta vi erano congionte altre assi che faceano la entrata grande un venti braccia et nel fine di essa si mostravano la Fede et la Giustitia, che erano poste alla guardia delle fiordeligi di oro.

Como si hebbe passato la prima strada presso della porta, nell'arrivar' dell'altra si vidde una collonna di legno di altezza de [*fol. 240v*] venti braccia sopra di un gran quadro medesimamente de assi et carchi così questo, come la collonna, de colori bianchi et negri. Vi pendea nel meggio un tropheo d'arme dorato, et nella cima vi era posto el Re Luigi el Santo con una corona in mano che metteva sopra di un'H ch'incontro gli era posta. Al piè della collonna di sopra el quadro si leggeva: "Suo Regi fæliciss. feliciss Gallia." Et vi era assiso da un lato di esso el Tempo, et dall'altro la Fama, entrambi allati; ai quali erano inscritti gli sosseguenti versi in francese:

Non potrà mai drizzar si longe il volo
Questo empio sprezzator delle opre sante
Col cercar' de t por' fra l'altro stuolo
Che ver l'oblio ha si veloci piante,

Che questa qui, data sola a te solo,
Non renda le opre sue debili e frante,
Et per le aurate et eterne alli sue
Non fian più che immortali le opre tue.

Vi erano puoi anche dui altri quadri vicini al primo, fatti et penti della medesima sorte che quello era. E di su l'uno vi sedeva una fanciulla vestita riccamente di bianco et nero che teneva una corona di oro nelle mani, in cui era intagliato questo verso; "Fient et meritis sceptra minora tuis." L'altra che sull'altro era vestita tutta di argento, havea una rette [*fol. 241*] di oro avvolta in un drappo di argento, et sotto lei si leggeva: "Aurea iam properat lustris labentibus ætas." Queste due fecero dono delle due cose sodette alla Maestà del Re, quando presso vi fu, et gli dissero alcune parole che non si puotero uddir' per la pressa grande che vi era.

Quando si gionse alla terza strada che pur' era sulla riviera, o sulle riviere per dir' meglio, che là apponto per un picciolo golfo la Sona et il Rhodano entrano in uno, si trovò da quel lato di fiumi un volto de assi, et un'altro appresso, che sola una collonna li separava; sopra della quale era assiso un leone, et sotto gli volti vi erano due ruppi sassose, a quali si vedean appoggiate due figure, di huomo l'una et l'altra di donna, ignude tutte due et co'i capigli et la barba che le venea fin sul mento humidi et pieni di sabbia. Havea ciescun d'essi una mano messa alla ruppe et l'altra sopra di un vaso che versava di continuo vin bianco da l'una et vin deretto dall'altra; si leggevano sopra gli lor capi le infrascritte lettere: "Ob adventum Hen. opt. prin. votis antea expetitum Rhodanus atque Arraris una confluentes gratullantur."

D'indi si venne s'una piazza grande ch'era nondimeno partita di dui per un pontale che vi era inel meggio fatto di tella, [*fol. 241v*] di altezza de due piche, et depinto tutto sotto'l volto dell'entrata che facea si vedea da un lato la nativitade di sua Maestà et dall'altro la sua incoronatione. In faccia puoi del portale all'intorno dell'intrata vi erano da ciescun lato due figure, di huomo l'una et l'altra di donna, che havean scritto su'l capo "Honori perpetuo," "Foelicitati æternæ;" et nel meggio delle due si leggeva: "Honoris virtutisque perpetuæ Henrico prin. invictiss. sacrum." Puoco più ad alto s'un triangolo si vedea un re assiso, che havea sulla corona un crescente di argento, et porgea l'una delle mani ad Amore che gli era presso, et l'altra alla Fede che gli sedea dall'altro lato. Tra la volta et il sommo della porta vi erano tre altre figure: la prima a man dirritta della Fama con la tromba alla bocca; quella dall'altra mano della Memoria con una penna et un libro su chi scriveva; la di meggio di

Vittoria con la corona di lauro in mano. Nel spatio ch'era tra loro tre vi erano rittratti gli triomphi di Cesare; et al più alto del portale havean poste sette collonne che sostenevano una sphera che havea alla cima un crescente. Et tale era il portale da un lato quale anco dall'altro, et medesimamente pinto et con le medesime figure et lettere.

Venuti su'l Cambio, una strada così detta perciò che vi sono in essa gli banchieri et el più delle buone botiche de mercanti massime Italiani, si trovò una prospettiva su'n quadro grande di un borgo, nel meggio del quale era un tempio bellissimo et fatto con grand'arte [*fol. 242*]. Mercurio in esso venia adorato et gli erano sporti per gli mercanti infiniti prieghi con sacrifici grandi. Nanti all porta di detto tempio vi sedeva una bella donna et molto altamente vestita, che tenea in mano una tavoletta d'assi de vari et quasi infiniti colori, et sopra di essa versi di cottal soggetto:

Sorte son io, mandata a te dal Dio
Che in questo tempio vedi,
Per star sott'l bel regno che possiedi.
Lo ingannar altri è mio
Costume, altri arrichir', ad altri i piedi
Por sopra lo acquistato, alcun morire
Faccio di doglia, e alcuno
Viver contra'l desio, e creder d'ogn'uno.
A te vengo offerrire
L'assentio e'l mel, perchè di questi privi
Il regno, e'n questo fortunato vivi.

Allo entrar' della strada vicina si trovò la Fortuna legata con una cathena di oro al tronco della Virtude, ignuda et senza capigli in testa, se non soli alcuni pochi che havea per meggio del fronte; teneva un mondo in mano, el quale tutta ridente, sforciata nondimeno, porgeva al Re con tanta gratia che s'assomigliava de più asai a persona viva che ad imagine fenta. Erano inscritti s'una tavoletta che le prendea dal lato versi del tener seguente:

Homai sforciata e pur contenta e pure
Allegra, eccoti il mondo, [*fol. 242v*]
Che ben dovuto a te ti porgo Henrico.
Per te tranquille e per te fian sicure
Le onde fin sotto'l fondo,
E per te pace al universo iudico,
Che, banditi odio e risse e crudeltade,
Riman teco in suo loco l'aurea etade.

Presso la piaccia di San Gianni, la chiesa cathedrale di Leone, si trovò un arco bellissimo et molto ben fatto, in che erano sottilmente rettratti gli paesi della Francia, le Alpi, gli fiumi et il mare che la circondano; et sopra di ogni cosa vi era posto un crescente di argento con un'H incoronata ad alto. Questo passato et venuti nanti la porta della chiesa sua Maestà entratavi dentro orò; et dipuoi rimontata a cavallo si ridusse nel vescovato lì vicino, dove fu ricevuto per Mons. Illmo el cardinale di Ferrara che havea abbellita la stantia de infiniti ornamenti; ma fra gli altri havea fatto drizzar' nel meggio della corte una collonna di preda alta da una trenta braccia da terra et tutta coperta de liste bianche et dorate; et vi era di sopra montato s'una sphera un angelo con due corone in mano, acconcio così bene et tanto artificiosamente che parea apponto che si volesse lassar' cadder' di là su al basso per dar' cottali corone alla Maestà del Re.

Havea puoi dal lato dell'alloggiamento che risponde sulla riviera fatto far' una torre de assi all'assimiglianza di un'altra di preda che vi era presso; et eran tanto pari tutta due che non si potea discerner', per chi non [*fol. 243*] lo sapeva, qual si fosse di legno o qual di pietra. Nel meggio di esse vi era una scala bellissima che scendeva alla riviera, con un porto appresso fatto in forma di arco et tutto pinto a bianco et a negro; puoi una loggia più avante tuta historiata; et al cerco di essa Neptuna co'l suo tridente accompagnato da tutti gli dei et dee maritime de quali vien fatta mentione per gli antichi poeti. Como sua Maestà hebbe visto el tutto, così si puose a tavola, ché di già era notte, et doppo'l cenare si tenne salla delle dame lì della terra.

El giorno appresso la Maestà della Regina entrò anche lei nella sorte medesima et con quelli ordini istessi con che era entrato el giorno davanti el Re, se non che soli gli mercanti Italiani mutorono tutti gli vestimenti; che li Luchesi haveano, in luogo de sagli di velluto negro et robbe di raso, le robbe di velluto con le mostre di raso et gli sagli di raso. Gli Firrentini, in cambio de sagli di raso morello et robbe di velluto cremesino, haveano gli sagli di velluto cremesino et le robbe di raso morello con le mostre di drappo d'oro, riserbati quei tre primi, ché le lor mostre erano di drappo d'oro riccio sopra riccio como el dì innante. Gli Milanesi, lassati gli habiti di dalmasco negro, si vestirono tutti di velluto. Et gli Tedeschi, per casache di raso negro, hebbero altre casache di ormesino. De servitori si mutorono soli quei di Luchesi et di Firrentini, ché gli primi havean sopra gli habiti [*fol. 243v*] bianchi casache di velluto cremesino, et gli altri sopra i panni medesimamente bianchi portavano le casache verdi.

Sua Maestà secondo el solito non entrò altrimenti sotto'l baldachino, ma solo vi si messe il cavallo. Et ella passò in lettica aperta di sopra con Madama Margherrita in compagnia; ella vestita di una robba di argento et di oro tutta fatta a rosette et la testa acconcia all'italiana, con una picciola cingaresca de capigli tutta passata con perle et con gioie; et Madama Margherrita con robba di argento et di seta negra, et la testa medesimamente fatta all'italiana. Al cerco di amendoe vi erano tante gioie et pietre preciose che da sé davano molto ben luce, et si faceano veder' con tutto che fosse di già notte oscura. Al lato della lettica vi erano due cardinali, di Vandoma et di Bollogna; et loro seguiva Mons. de Guisa che tenea compagnia alla Regina di Navarra; puoi la principessa accompagnata da Mons. di Vandoma, vestiti amendoi di oro et di seta negra; et appresso tutte le dame et signore della corte per ordine, secondo la conditione di ciescuna.

El Marti giorno seguente et lo xxvi del mese comparvero sulla riviera ad un tratto sul meggio giorno due picciole gallere et se' fregate che accompagnavano due gondole alla vinetiana, l'una de quali el prior' di Capua l'havea fatta condurre persin da Marsiglia, ché di là per questa riviera del Rhodano, ch'entra nel mare li vicino, si puo venir' sempre per acqua, con la coperta [*fol. 244*] et lo ornamento di dentro di velluto negro et gli barcaruoli vestiti anco del medesimo; l'altra puoi sulla forma di quella prima l'haveano composta quei della cittade et guarnito de paramenti et coperta di velluto cremesino con li barcaruoli insieme. Le gallere erano pinte tutte a bianco et a negro, con gli sforzari vestiti dell'istesso colore et la popa guarnita di velluto negro. Delle fregate vi n'erano due verdi e bianchi per la Regina et le sue dame; due cremesine per Madama Margherrita; et due verdi schiette per il cardinale di Ferrara. Così questi montati tutti, et montate parimente sull'una delle gondole la Maestà del Re et Madama la gran Senisciallа sull'altra, andorono buon tempo per la riviera a diporto et pigliandossi piacer' di veder' le due gallere scaramucciar' insieme. Que' giovani della terra intanto compuosero puoi una giostra navale fra loro, et la fecero veder' a sua Maestade, et era di tal sorte che due montavano su dui piccioli burchielli et si cingeano al collo dui scuti longhi che lor dava ai ginocchi; poi tolevano una lancia in mano et fermatissi bene sull'un de capi del burchiello che guidavano da diece remi, si lasciavano in cottal modo andar' l'un contra l'altro; et como si erano tanto vicini che la ponta della lancia potea toccar' gli scudi, su quelli le appostavano, et così el più forte facea cadder' l'altro del burchiello innell'acqua, et avveniva ben spesso che tutti due vi andavano ad un tratto. Porse piacer' grandissimo

cottal giostra ad ogniuno, et volse sua Maestà [*fol. 244v*] che per quel dì non si facesse altro.

Ma'l seguente furono in un ponto piene et le gallere et le fregate di gente armata et fornita di spade et rodelle et d'arme d'asta d'ogni sorte. Così divise che furono ugualmente i legni in due, dierono comincio alla battaglia navale, che fu tanto bella et così bene et ordinatamente fatta che piacque ad ogn'un sommamente. Certo è che a vederla parea che fosse più presto vera che ch'havese spetie di vero. Puoi che fu durato longo tempo el menar' delle mani, nell'ultimo una delle parti affondò un legnetto dell'altra et quei che vi erano di su armati, quantonque per la longa pratica del nuotare si riddussero alla riva salvi tutti.

Como sua Maestà fu scesa a terra, di subbito si misse a tavola per trovarsi ad una Comedia che dovean far' gli Firrentini. Posto ch'hebbe perciò fine al mangiar', andò nella salla dove si haveva a recitare, la qual era grande et alta asai. Et era il tetto fatto di cielo sereno parte et parte pluvioso: in quello si scorgevano le stelle et i pianeti lucentissimi; et sotto quest'altro si mostravano gli nugoli et le apparenze di folgori et delle tempeste. Et dall'una et dall'altra parte pendevano angeli asai, dalli quali venea sostenuto buon numero de candeglieri con torce bianche dentro accese. Erano all'intorno della salla posti per ordine venti quattro forme de serpenti di carta pieni de occhi di christallo lucentissimo colle ali medesimamente fatte a occhi et la bocca aperta, nella quale havea ciescune una torcia [*fol. 245*] pur' bianca di cera allumata. Et fra'l spatio ch'era tra l'uno et l'altro serpente si scorgeva una imagine di dongiella et una di huomo, che aggiongevano in tutto al numero de dodici di ciescuna sorte. Le dongielle havean scritto sopra i capi loro gli nomi delle terre più famose che sono sotto'l stato di Firrenze con le arme medesimamente che portano. Et per altre lettere che si leggeva sotto i piedi delli huomini si venea in cognitione loro esser' venuti da quelle terre sodette, et che ciescuna ne havea progenerato uno, donde gli sei si havean acquistato eterno nome colle arme et gli altri havean lassato perpetua memoria di se coi loro scritti.

Al scoprir' puoi che si fece la scena apparve ad un tratto la città di Firrenze benissimo et molto artificiosamente fatta. Vi si vedeano se' case, chè tante ne richiedeva lo effetto della comedia, case dic'io che non per case fente ma per verissime si credevano, et per una piazza che gli era nel meggio passava hor un hortolano che guidava una carretta, hor un magnano co' suoi ferramenti alle spalle, et hor un gentilhuomo a cavallo, et hor un altro a piede che conducea una damigella per il braccio; et simili altre cose, dico tutte fente, ciovè figure di carta, che a

contrapesi per arte erano tirrate da un lato all'altro della scena. Uscì di prima la Aurora [*fol. 245v*] vestita tutta di bianco con mille raggi del argento al cerco di essa, montata s'un carro che tirravano due galli, huomini ciovè con habiti di gallo fatti di tella all'intorno. Essa con due briglie li reggeva et in questo modo contrapassò per tutta la scena, cantando alcuni versi per li quali significava lei esser' messaggiera et nontio del giorno; et la sua voce venea aiutata da alcuni instromenti ch'erano di dentro la scena; et gli galli non cessavano intanto di mandar' fuore anch'essi il loro canto, co'l quale conddussero il carro fin dall'altra parte della scena, dove entrati essi, uscì ad un tempo dall'altra banda una donna accompagnata da sette altre vestite tutte di oro, quali tutte otto insieme et ciescuna per sé co' versi bellissimi fecero saper' a sua Maestà esser' la prima la etade del oro et le altre sette le sette Arti liberali, che erano con lei scesa dal cielo per tornar al mondo, se a lui piaceva di riceverle sotto'l suo regno.

Così puoi partite loro, s'udì di nuovo un'altra musica de instromenti et voci concordi in uno molto bella; puoi si diede principio alla comedia che fu *la Callandra,* la quale et per sé stessa ch'è bellissima, et per gli apparati grandi, et per gli vestimenti sontuosi, et per gli intermedii pieni di arte, et molto più per gli recitatori di buona gratia, et di molto maggior' gratia piacque ugualmente a tutti et da ogn'uno fu sommamente commendata. Per intermedii delli cinque atti, oltre il primo sodetto, vi furono le tre [*fol. 246*] altre etadi nei tre, di argento ciovè et di rame et di ferro, le quali fecero palesi al Re le proprietadi loro, et si offerrirono tutte ad habitar' con lui. Nel quatro si mostrorono tutte quattro in uno et remisero le loro differentie nel Dio Appolline, el qual giudicò bandite le tre altre, dover' sola restar' nel mondo l'etade aurea sotto'l dominio di Henrico Secondo. Nel ultimo essa sodetta accompagnata dalle sorelle, doppoi lo haver' recitati alcuni versi bellissimi in honore di quelle Maestadi, portò a donar' al Re un giglio di oro per segno che con lui si rimarrebbe in perpetuo. Delli versi che furono et per lei et per le altre tre recitati ne era lo authore Mr Luigi Allamani, così como versi suoi, cioè pieni di arte et di dolcezza, sattisfecero ad ogn'uno et ad ogn'uno medesimamente piacque la armonia che li accompagnava. Diede fine al tutto la Notte, che uscì di scena s'un carro negro, et ella tutta coperta di negro et guidata da dui locchi, che al paro erano posti sotto'l carro sodetto. Così puoi che con puochi versi si hebbe dichiarata Notte et circondata la scena, se ne partì et ogn'un si riddusse allo alloggiamento.

Era'l giorno appresso, dì di Venere et vigilia de S^{to} Michele, festa

cellebratissima per tutta la Francia, ma molto più fra i cavaglieri dell'ordine, i quali co'l Re loro duce furono al vespro, che si cantò sollenne et vi erano invitati gli ambasciatori tutti, et quai sedeano presso di cardinali et dei vescovi; [*fol. 246v*] la Maestà della Regina vi era medesimamente anch'ella vestita riccamente di tella de argento, et la maggior parte delle altre donne haveano il vestir' loro pur' bianco. Gli cavalieri comparvero con habiti longhi persin alla terra et aperti tutti da un lato, di drappo de argento con un freggio all'intorno de oro largo una spanna et simili apponto alli ordini che portano al collo. Et tal habito si accostumò di portar' per gli cavaglieri ad ogni San Michele, quando di prima fu trovato l'ordine, puoi si lassò la costuma, et questo Re vol mo' che sia rinovata. Al davanti di esso passavano quattro altri con habiti pur' della sorte istessa de quei primi, se non che soli mancavano del freggio all'intorno: il primo d'essi era el primo uscier' della camera, con la mazza dorata in mano; el secondo un maestro delle cirimonie; el terzo un notaio dell'ordine; et l'ultimo el R^{mo} di Guisa, como Cangegliere dell'ordine.

Alla Messa del giorno seguente si viddero anche in quel vestire medemo, et offersero tutti non secondo el grado di nobilitade ma rispetto al primato della cavaglieria, ché in tal ordine anco erano assisi. Al vespro di quel dì cangiorono puoi el bianco inel negro, con gran robbe di cottone fatte pur' sulla foggia delle prime. Et cantato el vespro di morti, si pregò per ogni cavagliere per le anime di loro compagni deffonti. Cosi altretanto se ne fece alla messa della dominica. Et el luni seguente sua Maestà si partì di quella cittade et addrizzosse al dritto camino di Molins in Barboneso.

El fine.

Appendix B

Giulio Alvarotto & Ippolito D'Este's Letters to the Duke of Ferrara, 1548.

ALVAROTTO, AS Modena, *Ambasciatori Francia,* busta 25 (original letters), and busta 45 (minutes, not paginated).

Lyon, 19 Sept. 1548: busta 25, fols. 183–185v; minute of 19 Sept., busta 45, no. 33.

[*fol. 183v*] Sua Maestà farà la sua entrata in questa terra dominica proxima che viene, che sarà alli 23, et vi farà la festa de S^{to} Michele, poi

piglierà il camino di Molins et di S. Germano, ove disegna trovarsi alla fine d'ottobre. Monsr R^{mo} cardinale fratello de V. Ex. venne hieri in questa terra per esserci tre o quatro giorni inanzi la venuta del Re, per dar ordine di poter' meglio et piu honoratamente ricevere sua Maestà. [*fol. 187*] Io assicuro alla Ex. V. che la venuta de sua Maestà in Lione costerà a S. S^{ria} R^{ma} 10m ducati. Ella fa grandissimi apparati et ornamenti, de tutti i quali non ne resterà di vivo per 2 in 3m ducati che sono acconciamenti di fabriche; tutto il resto anderà perduto. Fa fare tra le altre cose uno Bucintoro che a proportione sarà cosi bello et forse più di quello di Vinetia, ma non già però così grande a un gran pezzo. Ha fatto uno bergantino, una peotina et due gondole che saranno richissimamente adornate. Havea dimandato certi calafà al priore di Capua per voler far' una fisolera, et ei non glie li volse dare; et la fece far' lui et la adornerà et la presenterà a sua Maestà. De lì a pochi giorni che S. S^{ria} R^{ma} havea dimandato i calafà, il priore s'amalò et mandò a dimandar' il medico a S. S^{ria} R^{ma} et Ella non gli lo volse dar', et fece molto bene.

S. S^{ria} R^{ma} dando tutta la casa del suo arcivescovato al Re, alla Reina . . . , è sforzata di havere un'altro alloggiamento, et havendo disignato sopra uno comodo al arcivescovato et per banchetar', et essendo stato dato dalli forieri alla Reina di Navarra, S. S^{ria} R^{ma} mandò M. Ascanio in corte a farlo intender' al S^{r} cardinale de Guisa, pregandolo che lo facesse sapere al Re, così mi ha detto il prevosto de Trotti, soggiongendoli che detti forieri le haveano dato così picciolo et stretto alloggiamento che [*fol. 187v*] non vi si potea muover' dentro, dimodo ch'l Re comandò che le fusse dato quello alloggiamento stato gia marcato per la prefata Reina de Navarra, et a lei un'altro. [*cipher*] Si iudica che sua Maestà l'habbi fatto tanto più facilmente quanto che pare che tra detta Regina et sua Maestà non sia troppa intelligenza, perché par' che essa Regina tenesse pratica di maritar' la Principessa sua figluola nel Principe di Spagna senza saputa di sua Maestà (*si credere dignum est*). La verita è che mentre la Principessa è stata qui in Lione, et anco da un pezzo in quà, l'hanno sempre fatta guardar', come si scrisse già a V. Ex, et fanno il medesimo tutt'hora, et non va persona da S. Ex. che le guardie non la conoschino, o, non la conoscendo, non la interroghino; perche se lo faccino mo', io non lo so. Si dice che il prorogar' che fanno di queste nozze è perche il Re se non potrà dar' M^{ma} Margarita al Principe di Spagna, vorrà darla a Monsr de Vandomo. Io non so ciò che sarà, ma quanto a me vorrei che la cosa andasse in fumo, perche mi pareria che si presentasse una larga strada a V. Ex. di poterla haver' per il s^{r} Principe suo figlio [*end of cipher*].

Lyon, 20 Sept. 1548: busta 25 fol. 192; also minute, busta 45 no. 34.

Fiorentini et Genovesi contendevano di precedenza per questa [*f° 192 v°*] entrata, et S. Maestà ha declarato il loco in favore de Fiorentini.

Lyon, 23 Sept. 1548: busta 25, fols. 194–96; also minute, busta 45, no. 35.

[*fol. 194*] Il Re fa hoggi la sua entrata in questa terra et per questo effetto S. Maestà si è rettirata ad uno luoco qui fuori della terra verso Parigi che si chiama nostra Donna de Lilla. [*fol. 198*] Come ho detto a V. Ex., il Re ha fatto hoggi la sua entrata in questa terra, alla quale non sono stati gli ambasciatori, perché non vi sono stati convitati. Vi sono entravenute tutte le arti della terra ordinatamente l'una dopo l'altra con li suoi tamburi et insegne et tutti armati, chi d'una sorte d'armi et chi d'un altra, et anco benissimo vestiti; et dopo loro tutti i capi de mercanti di ciascuna natione. I Luchesi furono i primi, et haveano inanzi quatro paggi abbigliati di raso negro et tella d'argento in habito Romano sopra bravissimi corsieri girelati nel medesimo concerto, et essi mercanti erano vestiti de sagli di raso nero et robbe di veluto nero sopra bellissime mulle copertate di nero con dui stafieri per ciascuno avanti. Li Fiorentini che erano ben 40 cavalcavano dopo loro con sei paggi inanzi vestiti di raso bianco con una manica nera et bianca, et essi erano abbigliati di calce [*fol. 198v*] de scarlato, coletti di raso cremosino et robbe di veluto cremosino fodrate di tella d'argento in campo morello, et tre loro consoli ch'erano in ultimo erano nel medesimo concerto, eccetto che haveano le robbe di pano d'oro di sopra rizzo in capo cremosino, et ciascuno di loro il suo stafiero vestito di raso bianco. I mercanti Milanesi erano dietro a loro, vestiti di raso nero con robbe di domasco nero con le maniche pontalate d'oro, et ognuno di essi havea quatro stafieri abbigliati di rosso. In ultimo era poi una gran compagnia d'Alemani benissimo a cavallo, vestiti di bianco con robbe di raso nero, et non haveano in tutto che quatro stafieri inanzi vestiti di raso bianco. Li Genovesi, fatto ch'hebbero riverenza a sua Maestà, si rettirorno et non vi sono voluti entravenire per non haver il loco suo, et così farano alla entrata della Regina.

Per ordine seguitavano poi 25 sargenti dello arcivescovo a cavallo, vestiti de sagli alla impresa de S. S^{ria} R^{ma}; et drieto a loro da circa xxx ufficiali della terra. Seguitavano poi a piedi 80 giovani della città vestiti in habito Romano, tutti di drappo di seta cremosina, guarniti chi d'oro et chi d'argento et chi di perle, con morione in testa et borzachini in gamba del medesimo concerto, et molti di loro con de gran gioglie intorno, si che facevano uno bellissimo vedere. Drieto a questi andavano

a cavallo sei trombetti vestiti di cendal turchino con morioni in [*fol. 199*] testa del medesimo colore, et dipoi quatro paggi abbigliati del medesimo all'antica, con dui stafieri per ciascuno del medesimo concerto, seguitati da 400 giovani pur della terra, sopra bravissimi corsieri et ginetti girelati del medesimo concerto che erano gli huomini, che era uno habito all'antica come quelli da piedi, ma così ricamente et superbamente fatto che era un stupore, et certo facevano uno bellissimo vedere. Io intendo per vero che, tra la spesa delle sudette compagnie et certi archi et palchi che si sono fatti per questa entrata, questa città si trova haver' speso de contanti da una 80m ducati.

Dopo questi giovani seguitavano 4 commandatori della terra, et drieto a loro uno secretario con xii consiglieri di essa. Dopo loro il Prevosto de l'hostel con la sua guardia d'arcieri a cavallo, et drieto a questi per ordine le famiglie di principi, ufficiali et gentilhuomini servanti de sua Maestà, li maestri di casa et li gentilhuomini di camera de p^{ta} S. Maestà tutti benissimo abbigliati; et drieto a questi la guardia de Suizzeri tutti vestiti di veluto nero et di tella d'argento con tocca d'argento nelli giuponi et nelle calce. Venivano poi sei trombetti di sua Maestà et dui arraldi vestiti delle loro solite tonicelle, et dipoi il Mariscial de S^{to} Andrea, vestito di saglio di veluto nero tutto pontalato d'oro, co'l bastone in mano facendo l'ufficio del Gran Maestro sopra uno bravissimo corsiero abbigliato del medesimo concerto, [*fol. 195v*] havendo inanzi il Sr Priore di Roma et circa x altri grossi gentilhuomini di corte, vestiti anch'essi di veluto nero tutto pontalato d'oro, seguitato questo dalli R^{mi} di Vandomo, Guisa, Lorena, Borbon et Bologna; et dipoi cavalcava mons^{r} de Boissi co'l gran stocco a lato; et incontinenti drieto a lui cavalcava sua Maestà Christianissima sotto il baldachino, che era di raso nero et tella d'argento con le imprese di sua Maestà portato da dottori della città. Predetta sua Maestà era vestita di uno saglio di richissimo recamo d'oro, et del medesimo concerto era lo abbigliamento del cavallo. Drieto a sua Maestà seguitava mons^{r} de Vandomo, quasi in uno habito simile che sua Maestà, anzi vogliono alcuni che'l suo fusse più bello. Monsr d'Anghiano et mons^{r} de Mompensiero cavalcavano imparo, et poi mons^{r} de Guisa et quello della Rocchia Surion, mons^{r} de Lorges; quelli de Canaple et de Mongiron cavalcavano imparo, tutti questi vestiti como era il Mariscial de S^{to} Andrea, seguitati dalli capitani della guardia d'arcieri de Sua Maestà con la detta guardia drieto a cavallo et un mondo di popolo a piedi. Et così con tal ordine Sua Maestà Christianissima se ne andò all'arcivescovato, ricevuta honoratissimamente dal S^{r} cardinale fratello di V. Ex., et alloggiata nel detto arcivesco-

vato, ove S. S. R^ma^ prepara de far' banchetti et bellissime feste per honorarla tanto più. La villa ha donato a Sua Maestà uno lion d'oro non so di che valuta, ma intendo bene che i Fiorentini le hano donato una fiordeligi [*fol. 196*] d'oro di valuta de 2m ducati.

Lyon, 24 Sept. 1548: busta 25, fols. 199–200v [incomplete]; complete minute. busta 45.

[*fol. 200v*] Sua Maestà è stata alla messa questa mattina. [*Minute*] Sua Maestà ... se ne andò a basso et montò in una di queste barche, passò la riviera et andò à disnar' con la Reina, laquale fa hoggi la sua entrata, che sarà come quella di hieri; et per questa sera il s^{r} cardinale fratello di V. Ex. le prepara uno bravissimo banchetto nel quale sarano anco tutte le dame di corte et molte altre della villa, si che alle prime tavole sarano piu di 150 persone. [*Postscript*]. La ser^{ma} Reina fece hieri de sera la sua entrata et fu apunto come quella del Re, ma sua Maestà entrò tanto tardi che non si puote vedere di che ella fusse abbigliata; era in letica et con essa vi era Mª Margarita sotto il baldachino; seguitava poi la Regina di Navara con la Principessa sua figliola in un'altra letica, cortegiata da mons^{r} de Vandomo quale teneva la testa dentro della letica; et dopo questa seguitavana a cavallo le damele de S. Maestà, della Reina prefata et Principessa di Navarra et Mad^{ma} Margarita, tutte abbigliate di raso cremesino con gran recami d'oro all'intorno et con la testa concia alla italiana.

Lyon, 28 Sept. 1548: busta 25, fol. 203r–v; minute, busta 45.

[*fol. 203*] Qua non si attende ad altro che a dar' spasso a sua Maestà, hora con bataglie navalli, hora con comedie, cora con superbi et sontuosi banchetti che li fa il S^{r} cardinale fratello de V. Ex^{tia,} et hor con una cosa et hor con un'altra, a fine che la Maestà sua se ne passi il tempo con manco noglia che si possa et con quella più consolatione et contentezza di S. S^{ria} R^{ma} et di tutta questa città che sia possibile. [*fol. 203v*] Si continua pur' in dire che, fatta la festa de S^{to} Michele in questa città, Sua Maestà se ne partirà e dirizzerà il suo camino per la volta di Molins et poi de San Germano.

Lyon, 1 Oct. 1548: busta 25, fols. 205–206v; minute, busta 45.

[*fol. 205*] Soa S. R^{ma} non era mai stato da lui a causa del tenir' di continuo compagnia a soa Maestà, che è sempre stata occupata da diversi passatempi. Soa M^{tà} ha fatto la solenità della festa di S. Michiele et stata al vespro nella gran chiesa, la vigilia di detto santo et la mattina

di esso, con XVI cavalieri tutti vestiti d'una gran robba di tella d'argento longa fino a terra aperta da doe bande con un gran ricamo d'oro dognitorno et un capucio di veluto cremosino ricamato d'oro col grand'ordine al colo, lo cardinale de Guisa come canceliero in un corto habito di tella d'argento. Il giorno della festa andò al vespro mortorio et la matina seguente alla messa mortoria, soa Maestà in habito di panno morello et i cavalieri di panno negro. Vi fu sempre la Regina, la Regina di Navara, Madama Margarita, la S[ra] Prencipessa di Navara; vi sono ancho stati tutti li ambasciatori invitati da soa Maestà, ecetto quel di Portogallo perche contende di precedentia con quello di Inghilterra, et dice essere declarato in suo favor' alla corte del papa e a quella di Cesar'. Soa Maestà desinò il giorno della festa et l'altro anchora con tutti questi cavalieri, stando lei nel mezo ad una tavola più alta della loro, essi la metà da un lato et l'altra metà dall'altro. [*fol. 205v*] Soa Maestà va hoggi a veder' la villa.

Ippolito d'Este, AS Modena, *Casa e Stato, Ramo ducale,* busta 148.

Lyon, 22 Sept. 1548 (cat. 1709. xiii. 24)

Et poi dovendo egli [*Claude d'Urfé*] partir subito fatta l'entrata di sua Maestà, et facendola ella domani, V. Ex[tia] si può imaginare in quante occupationi io mi trovi a questa caussa. Et hora ho voluto anticipar' il tempo in scriver' questa per esser sicuro che non habbia da partire senza una mia per la Ex[tia] vostra.

Lyon, 26 Sept. 1548 (cat. 1709. xiii. 27)

Sua Maestà fece ... domenica la sua entrata et il dì seguente la Reina fece la sua. Et certo che è stata una delle più belle che sien mai state fatte, a giudicio d'ogni uno, ad altro Re in questo regno, ne forse ad altro principe alcuno in altro luogo. Et sua Maestà ha trovato ogni cosa bonissimo et ha mostrato di restar molto satisfatto et che molto le sia piacciuto quel che ho fatto io per honorar la Maestà sua.

Moulins, 21 Oct. 1548 (cat. 1709. xiii. 32)

Io adunque, se ben come ho bisogno di tor questo danaro, et massimamente hora che ho fatto le grosse spese che V. Ex[tia] potrà havere inteso essermi occorso a fare ne la prefata entrata di sua Maestà.

Appendix C

Francesco Giustiniano's Dispatches to the Signoria, as Venice, *Arch. propr. Francia,* 4 (1547–49).

Lyon, 19 Sept. 1548

[*fol. 231v*] Dimane il Re X^{mo} si deve ritrovare in questa cittate, ma occultamente et travestito, et dominica farà la entrata sua solennemente insieme con la Ser^{ma} Regina, per laqual entrata sono preparati molti archi, feste et comedie, per honorare sua M^{tà} et tutte le nationi di mercanti oltra la cittate deveno [*?*] incontrare sua M^{tà} molto ben ad ordine; et si dice che sua M^{tà} farà quivi la cerimonia della festa di San Michele et partirà poi il primo giorno di ottobre per Molins. . . .

Lyon, 24 Sept. 1548

[*fol. 235v*] Heri sua M^{tà} ha fatta la entrata sua in questa cittate et hoggi la Ser^{ma} Regina, et è stata molto bella et con molta [*fol. 236*] dimostratione di questi cittadini et populo, i quali hano, con la pompa et spese grande che han fatto, superata la espectatione di ognuno.

Lyon 2 Oct. 1548

[*fol. 236*] Finite le feste, banchetti et comedie, et celebrata la cerimonia delli cavallieri dell'ordine il giorno di San Michele et il dì seguente, et dato fine a molte espeditioni, così publiche come private, et così delle cose del Piamonte come delle cose di questa cittate in dui consigli, che doppo la entrata di sua M^{tà} X^{ma} si son fatti; heri doppo pranzo sua M^{tà}, con la S^{rma} Regina et tutta la corte, si è partita per andarsene a S^{to} Andrea, loco di questo governatore di Lione et dell'Illmo Sr Marescial suo figliolo, uno delli principali favoriti de sua M^{tà} X^{ma}, dove ha da stare quattro giorni in circa per le belle cazze che sono in quel contorno.

Appendix D

Letter of Bartolommeo Pantichiati, Lyon, 25 Sept. 1548, AS Florence, *Mediceo* 390, fol. 373r–v.

Domenica il Re fece l'entrata et hyeri la regina; et l'una et l'altra fu bellissima, et i della villa hanno fatto maraviglia. Noi finalmente ottenemo la precedenza a Genovesi, li quali per questo non vollaro venire ma andorono la matina di buon'hora da per loro a fare riverenza a S. M. et poi se ne tornorono, facendo anche il simile alla Regina. Furono 17 vestiti con robe e saii di veluto nero et li giuboni di teletta d'argento. Li Luchesi robe di raso al Re, e poi alla Reina di veluto, et furono xii su mule. Li Milanesi robe di domasco poi di veluto. Li Alamani casacche di raso nero, calze et giuboni bianchi, poi casacche d'ermesino di torsi nero

et così calze et giuboni. La nostra nazione, in numero 35, calze rosse, saio di razo pagonazo con li fornimenti di passamani d'oro, robe di veluto rosso cremisi con le mostre, et bavero di teletta pagonaza piana, ecetto il consolo quale haveva una veste di veluto alto et basso con le mostre di teletta pagonaza aricciata, et così li suoi consiglieri quanto alle mostre perche [*fol. 373v*] le vesti erano del medesimo veluto che l'altre. Alla regina robette di domasco cremesi con due bande di veluto rosso ricamate d'argento, bonetti di veluto nero et così le scarpe et tutti sopra a chinee con le covertine; et sei paggi dinanzi vestiti di teletta d'argento con una manica bianca et nera et così il fornimento de cavalli. Il secondo giorno furono bianchi et verdi. Li staffieri vestiti di raso bianco con un coletto di veluto nero, et l'altro giorno di veluto verde. Ei della villa doveranno fare stampare questa entrata per apunto: quel poi vi manderò aciò la veggiate distinta. Giovedì sera farasi la nostra comedia, della quale n'harete aviso. Il Re ci fa careze et promesse grandi et così la Regina.

Appendix E

Diary of Jean Guéraud (MS published by J. Tricou, *La Chronique lyonnaise*, Lyon 1929, pp. 44–48. The present location of the ms. is unknown, and so the text cannot be verified.).

[*p. 44*] Le dimenche 23[e] jour du[d] mois le Roy fict son entrée en la[d] ville envyron quatre heures après midy, qui fust autant magnifique, riche, triumphante qu'autre qui fust jamais faicte à Roy de France, comme se pourra veoir par l'ordre d'icelle qui s'est imprimé, et despuis les sept heures du matin jusques à midy ne cessa de passer bandes par au-devant dud. S[r], qui seroit trop long à raconter; et entre aultres richesses fut les enfants de la Ville tant à cheval qu'à pied, [*p. 45*] en sorte qu'ils sembloient tous empereurs et roys, tant estoient-ils chargés d'orfaivrerie et bourderye et doreures, tous accoustrés à l'antique manière des gens de guerre et soldars Romains, et consequemment estoient bien en ordre les aultres bandes et gens de pied. Aussy faisoit bon veoir les nations estrangières qui marcherent en ordre selon leur qualité et degré, fors les Genevoys lesquels furent dès le matin seuls faire la reverence aud. S[r] et s'en retournarent quant et quant seuls: et fust pour un différent d'eulx et des Florentins, lesquels voulurent aller au dessus, et fust la cause debattue au conseil privé et par le Roy mesmes, et trouvèrent que de toute ancienneté les[d] Genevoys precedoient par

tout les[d] Florentins tant par auctorité plus grande que par privilèges imperiaulx à eulx octroyés de toutte ancienneté; et furent pour le coup les[d] Florentins favorysés à cause de la Royne. Laquelle, le lendemain qui fust le lungdy 24[e] de septembre, fit son entrée au pareil et semblable ordre que le jour précédent fust observé à l'entrée du Roy; et entra entre cinq ou six heures au soir au grand mescontantement et desplaisir de tout le peuple et de ceulx de la ville, car il faisoit sy nuict qu'on la vit point, et fust on contrainct de maison en maison allumer torches pour la veoir; et estoit accompagnée de Madame Marguerite en une littière descouverte.

Le mercredy après diner fust fait la bataille navale au devant du logis du Roy, et deulx grandes gallères, l'une aux coulleurs du Roy, l'aultre aux coulleurs de la Royne, accompagnées chacune de trois ou quatre aultres petittes; et se vindrent rencontrer l'une contre l'aultre, et en approchant [*p. 46*] commensa l'assault à grands coups de canons et harquebuzerye; et après au joindre se combatirent main à main ensemble les petittes aussy, et fust celle du Roy victorieuse; qui fust chose de bonne grâce et où le Roy et toutte la cour print grand plaisir, qui estoient dedans un grand basteau faict en maniere d'un palais au Roy et à la Royne; et tantôt après les[d] Roy et Royne sortirent du[d] palais et se mirent en une gondolle que le prieur de Cappoue luy avoit mandé de Marseille, tout garni de vellours noir et toille d'argent et peinct en devises et coulleurs du Roy, et les barqueteaulx de mesmes exprès envoyés et mandés de Venise; et après le[d] passetemps, qui dura jusques au soir, le Roy et la Royne eulx cinq ou sixiesme dedans la[d] gondolle et le grand pallais sus[d] et toutte la grand flotte des basteaux montèrent jusques à l'Observance, où ils soupparent et apprès s'en revindrent par eau à torches.

Le vendredy ensuyvant, veille de S[t] Michel, le Roy tint son chappitre général de l'ordre et commença aux Vespres lesquelles il allat ouyr à S[t] Jehan, luy faisant le 17[e] en nombre des chevalliers, accompagné des seize nommés cy près, accoustrés tous de blanc, assavoir: escarpins et chosses blanches, un saye de toille d'argent bordé d'une petite frange d'or, un grand manteau royal de toille d'argent traynant jusques à terre et rellevé du costé gauche sur l'espaulle, bandé d'une borderye à gros cordon d'or et l'ordre faict en conquilles avec dessus une nuée de flammes de feu le tout d'or de la largeur d'un grand pied et demy et un grand chapperon à cornette de vellours rouge cramoisy de haulte colleur [*p. 47*] semblable bourdeure et bonnets de vellours noir en teste; [et?] marchèrent comme s'ensuict. Premièrement marchoit l'huissier avec sa masse d'or sur

l'espaule, teste nue, habillé d'une robbe de sattin traynant jusques à terre et un chapperon à cournette de sattin rouge cramoisy sur l'espaule; puis après luy un herault habillé de mesme aussy teste nue et tout seul; après marchoit M^{r} le Seneschal d'Agenetz prevost du^{d} ordre, estant au milieu de Mr Bouchetel secréttaire et Mr de Villeroy trésaurier du^{d} ordre, tous teste nue et habillés comme dessus; apprès venoient les chevalliers deulx à deulx dont s'ensuict les noms:

Mr de la Guiche	M^{r} d'Anguient
M^{r} le Mareschal St André	M^{r} le prince de le Rouche-sur-Yon
M^{r} le Compte de la Chambre	Mr de Brissac
Mr de Lorge	M^{r} le Compte Montravel
M^{r} le Compte de Ladmyrandolle	Mr de Maugyron
M^{r} de St André	Mr de Boysi
Mr de Canapples	Mr de Montpensier
Mr de Vendosmes	Mr de Guyse

Puis marchoit le Roy habillé de mesme et rien davantage entre M^{rs} les Cardinaulx de Vandosme et de Boulongne. J'avois oublié à mettre en rang M^{r} le Cardinal de Guise, en rang marchant après M^{rs} les prevost, secrétaires et tresorier, comme chanseillier du^{d} ordre, habillé d'une robe de vellours blanc, son chapperon de vellours rouge cramoisy de haulte coulleur tout symple. Et en cet ordre s'en allarent à Vespres, et le lendemain à la messe comme dessus, laquelle fut [*p. 48*] cellebrée par M^{r} l'Archevesque de Vienne; et à l'offrande fut apresté par l'ussier ung cierge de cyre blance allumé, où il y avoit un escu au sol attaché, et cella presenté au Roy qui allat offrir et puis aux aultres l'ung après l'autre, et n'y eust aultre cerymonie. Le^{d} jour mesme de St Michel à Vespres fust commencé le deuil du^{d} ordre en semblable nombre et ordre, habillés tous de drap noir; et le dimanche fut chantée la messe de Regrets et semblable offrande. Et fault notter que chacun des^{d} s^{rs} portoit le grand ordre au col. Le^{d} jour au soir sur les sept heures fut brullé un basteau faict en manière de forteresse que le^{d} Sr Cardinal avoit faict pour donner passetemps au Roy, lequel fut bien petit et n'en tint on pas grand compte.

Le Lungdy apprès, premier jour d'octobre 1548, le Roy, la Royne, toutte la cour partit pour s'en aller à Sainct André et de là à Paris; et n'en fut le peuple gueres mary pour les insollences et fascheryes que les gens de cour avoient faict icy au tour.

Appendix F

Denis Sauvage's appendix to Nicolas Gilles, *Le second volume des Croniques et Annales de France* (Paris: R. Avril for J. de Roigny, 17 Aug. 1549, fol.).

[*fol. cxlv*] Et fut ceste entrée asses magnifique et superbe, pour estre parangonnée aux triumphes des Scipions, Pompées et Cesars, tant ventez aux hystoires Rommaines. Car, oultre la pompeuse sumptuosité des Portaux, Arcades, Obelisques, Temples, Perspectives, Coulonnes et Theatres, enrichis d'une infinité de figures, les unes eslevées en bosse, les autres couchées en platte paincture et ornées de devises, grotesques, escriteaux et festons, erigez et bastis en irreprehensible symmetrie d'Architecture, semez dru par les rues et places de ladicte ville de Lyon depuis le faulxbourg de Vaise iusques au logis de l'Archevesché; oultre la magnificence des riches tapisseries, faisans tresagreables bordures es maisons assises de part et d'autre des rues, gracieusement umbragées de cielz de deliées toilles estendues par dessus; oultre la chace du Lyon pris par Diane, accompagnée de ses Nymphes, dedans l'artificielle forest et presenté au Roy et à la Royne par elle, recevant l'un et l'autre par un dizain aussi gracieusement prononcé que furent bien ouys et mieulx receuz les quatrains aussi recitez par Neptune et Pallas devant la Perspective du Change. Les mestiers et Artisans, les enfans de ville à pied et à cheval et les Conseillers et Eschevins de ladicte ville espargnerent tant peu les draps d'or, d'argent et de soye, les guypures, recamures, pourfilures et canetilles, les boutons, fers, iaserans et bordures d'or, en leurs vestemens, capparassons de chevaux, habillemens de laquais et enrichissemens d'iceux, que les nations Luquoise, Florentine, Milannoyse et Alemande n'eurent moyen de les surpasser en bravade, combien que de toutes ces susdictes choses elles fussent prodigieusement liberales. Mais encore que les enfans de ville et nations eussent retenu les spectateurs en admiration grande, tant du pris et beauté de leurs acoustremens, que du nombre et allegresse des Chevaux, Genetz, Turcz et Barbres qu'ilz menoient; toutesfois le Roy, les Princes et leurs maisons passant apres feirent veoir à ceulx qui les regardoyent que tous les Phrygions de la grand'Troye eussent esté empeschez de compartir en toute leur vie toutes les couleurs ensemble tant proprement et richement, comme les brodures de Lion en moins de deux moys contrepasserent le blanc et le noir sur les acoustremens du Roy et des Princes et aux croissans, chiffres et fueillages des housses, capparassons et harnois de leurs chevaux. La magnificence du festin et du bal fut sumptueuse, le combat des Gladia-

teurs fut superbe, l'appareil et l'action de la Comedie furent merveilleusement ingenieux; mais sur tout fut magnifique la Naumachie des Galleres representée sur la Saone, avec grand'compagnie de Fustes, Brigantins, Galliotz et Gondoles, suyvans deux Galiaces capitainesses, tellement paincctes, pannocellées, enrichies et garnies de souldards braves et fors, que les voiles de pourpre, les rames d'argent, la pouppe d'or du navire de Cleopatra ne leur eussent sceu faire honte, singulierement accostées au Bucentaure faict pour la maiesté du Roy et de la Royne, la structure, forme, paincture et precieuse enrichissure duquel fut autant agreable aux regardans, comme fut esmerveillable au Roy, aux Princes, aux Dames et aux Seigneurs; la table chargée d'infinies sortes de confitures, descendant en un instant du lambris de la salle de bal, bastie dans ledict Bucentaure et la sommellerie toute preste, montant de la carene du basteau, comme si les Dieux celestes et terrestres eussent miraculeusement envoyé de hault et de bas la collation aux assistans. En somme fut la bravade et magnificence de ladicte entrée tant grande, que la posterité, lisant le livre qui en a esté faict, s'en esmerveillera beaucoup plus tost qu'elle ne le croyra.

Le lendemain xxiiii dudict moys fut faicte toute pareille entrée à la Royne Catherine sa compaigne: puis à tous deux furent faictz de tresbeaux et riches presens, par les Bourgeoys et Nobles de la ville. En laquelle le vendredy xxviii dudict moys de Septembre le Roy celebra le chapitre des Chevaliers de l'Ordre S. Michel, qui de long temps n'avoit esté celebré en France: et estoyent tous vestuz, tant le Roy que lesdictz Chevaliers de l'Ordre, d'un grand manteau rond iusques à terre, tout de drap d'argent: et portoyent par dessus un chapperon de veloux cramoysi à bourlet, comme portent les Advocatz en Parlement. Monsieur le Cardinal de Guyse, comme Chancelier dudict Ordre, aussi vestu par dessus son roquet d'un pareil manteau de veloux blanc, son chapperon de veloux cramoysi rouge et les Huissier, Greffier et Maistre des Ceremonies de semblables manteaux de satin blanc et chapperons de satin cramoysi rouge.

The **Entry of Henri II into Lyons, September 1548,** set a new style for the reception of monarchs in France, playing down the religious element and emphasizing chivalric, antiquarian, literary, theatrical, and architectural features. Maurice Scève's elegant 1549 edition of the account is reproduced here along with unpublished accounts of the entry from contemporary diplomatic dispatches. The monographic introduction by Richard Cooper places the festival in the context of earlier Lyonnais entries and of the royal tour around the southern territories. Cooper also discusses the preparations made by the city fathers, the Italian colony, and the archbishop, the architecture and iconography, the inscriptions, the plays performed, and the entertainments prepared.

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